104

ATTEMPTS BY ROGUE REGIMES TO INFLUENCE U.S. POLICY

Y 4. IN 8/16: R 26

Attempts by Rogue Regimes to Influe...

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

MARCH 19, 1996

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations

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ATTEMPTS BY ROGUE REGIMES TO INFLUENCE U.S. POLICY

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1996

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2:45 p.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher H. Smith (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH. The Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights will come to order. Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

Today's hearing is about attempts by rogue regimes to influence U.S. policy. At issue is the scope of the problem and the question as to whether or not our present laws are adequate to deal with the situation; whether or not our government is doing everything it can do legitimately within these laws to deal with the statements and stateside activities of global terrorist networks and their State sponsors.

I would ask for order in this subcommittee hearing, please.

Ladies and gentlemen, our witnesses will address one of the fundamental paradoxes of a democracy: We must play by one set of rules, even though our adversaries often play by another. For many years, agents of the Soviet Empire once used the rules of democracy and freedom in an ongoing attempt to destabilize and supplant our free and democratic system. Today, there is mounting evidence that modern pariah States, including but not limited to some of the remnants of that evil empire, are engaged in similar activities.

We are all too familiar with sponsorship by the regimes in Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya and the Sudan of terrorism beyond their borders and with the longstanding effort by the Castro Regime to export violent revolution throughout Latin America and Africa.

A related but distinct type of threat is presented, however, when an outlaw State tries to interfere in the affairs of a free country not by violence or espionage but by simply setting up shop within the political system of that free country. Activities of this nature include financial support of political movements, legal defense funds for international terrorists and other criminals, fundraising and recruitment for ostensibly legitimate activities, and contributions to publications, foundations and other institutions that support the agenda of the rogue regime.

The regime may even try to buy access and respectability by supporting otherwise legitimate charities such as schools and hospitals—or by buying the apparent access of a President's brother. Remember Billy Carter's courtship with Libya two decades ago.

Recent news accounts concerning Minister Louis Farrakhan's world friendship tour also raises serious questions that need to be vigorously pursued and probed by the Departments of State, Treasury, and Justice to determine whether or not U.S. laws were broken.

Our subcommittee has held hearings on the brutality of the Nigerian dictatorship and the killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa and, last week, heard compelling evidence of chattel slavery in both Mauritania and Sudan.

(Disruption in audience.)

Mr. SMITH. I would ask for order. I would say to the gentleman this is a hearing. This is not a town meeting. It is not open for public questions. Outside the hearing room, in a forum like a press conference, all the questions and give and take can occur.

The committee will be in order.

Thus, it deeply offends and disappoints many of us who are concerned with human rights when Minister Farrakhan embraces the military leaders of Sudan and Libya.

Randall Robinson, the executive director of TransAfrica, has said that his group, and I quote, "Would oppose the Nigerian Government with as much tenacity as we opposed the South African Government." And, of course, that was during the apartheid regime.

Mr. Robinson said in the New York Times, and I quote, "His statements appear to make Minister Farrakhan an apologist for an authoritarian, corrupt and oppressive regime."

In Libya, the State's news agency quoted Muammar Qadhafi as saying, and I quote, "Our confrontation with America was like a fight against a fortress from the outside," adding that the apparent tact of Minister Farrakhan gives Libya a, "breach to enter into this fortress and to confront it."

Whether the issue be Billy Carter or Minister Farrakhan or anyone else, U.S. laws need to be faithfully adhered to and enforced by the executive branch, and we will accept and expect no less.

I hope our witnesses today will help us answer two fundamental questions: How deeply should citizens of a free society be concerned about these activities and what can we legitimately do about them?

Are the laws on our books adequate to the task or are reforms warranted? Do efforts by pariah States to influence our system really do them any good or us any harm? Is there any serious possibility that they could substantially alter our system of government? Even if Iraq or North Korea could buy someone who had a serious chance of being elected to high office, the disclosure that he or she had been bought might well eliminate his or her chances of election. Even so, it is arguable that the mere belief by an outlaw government that it could influence our political system, and thus buy impunity for its crimes, might cause it to commit even more crimes.

When it comes to what we can do about these activities, we in America must start by acknowledging that rules are rules. We have the constitutional right to freedom of speech and association, and

yet these constitutional rules have never been thought to invalidate our laws against terrorism or espionage or treason—giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States.

The question of what kinds of motives and actions are necessary to transform speech and association into evidence of criminal conduct is always a complicated one and never more so than when national security is at stake.

I look forward to the testimony that will be presented by our witnesses and the reflections that this subcommittee will have both today and after on these important issues.

At this point, I would like to yield to my good friend and colleague, the distinguished ranking member on this subcommittee, Mr. Tom Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend you for convening this hearing.

I would like to make a few opening observations.

It is self-evident that this hearing was called in response to a series of statements made by Louis Farrakhan during a visit to some of the most despicable and bloody dictatorships on the face of this planet.

(Disruption in audience).

Mr. SMITH. The subcommittee will be in order.

Let me just make a point and make this very clear. This is a warning, and this goes for every subcommittee and full committee in this House as well as on the floor of the House, that individuals who engage in any disruption will be ejected from this hearing. I want to make that very clear. Anyone, after this hearing, can go out and talk to the press, make any statement that they would like.

We will run this hearing with decorum, and we will hear from our witnesses, and the process will continue.

I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I begin my comments by suggesting that words have consequences; and particularly those of us in society who, for one reason or another, have a high degree of visibility must be responsible for the consequences of our words.

It is important for all of us to understand that the most monstrous events in human history did not begin with actions. They began with words, words of hate, bigotry, monstrous lies, calls for murder of innocent people and destructions of innocent communities.

This is the second Farrakhan resolution I presented to the Congress of the United States; and to set the current resolution in its historical context, I would like to deal for a moment with the first one.

On February 23, 1994, the House of Representatives approved the first Farrakhan resolution by a vote of 361 for, 34 against and 29 voting present. What was the basis of that resolution? One of Louis Farrakhan's top aides, Khalid Abdul Muhammed, talked to packed auditoria on college campuses, to cheering mobs of assorted bigots. He was paid thousands of dollars for every hate-filled diatribe. The violent venom dripping from every sentence was enough to curdle one's blood.

In the face of that outrage, one had two choices. One could pretend not to hear and hope naively that, like a summer shower, that avalanche of hate will just vanish. One could also choose to stand up and speak out against hatemongering. At that time I chose to do the latter.

I introduced the resolution in the Congress condemning that evil and hate-filled speech; and after a stormy and historic debate, for the first time in the history of the Congress of the United States, my colleagues stood with me overwhelmingly and condemned that speech.

The second resolution which we will be debating on the floor of the House of Representatives next week, I believe, relates to hate-filled speech directed at the United States of America and high praise for some of the bloodiest dictators on the face of this planet. The Congress of the United States will have a second option to express its view on those statements.

I would like to suggest that, of course, we are not dealing with an issue of free speech. Mr. Farrakhan has as much right to free speech as does every American citizen. Those of us who disagree with him in his characterization of the United States of America as the Great Satan have as much right as he does in denouncing that characterization.

I also would like to suggest that the issue clearly is not one of race. The most respected African-American columnist, Carl Rowan, had the following to say about the observations made on this visit to Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan and Nigeria, and I quote Carl Rowan: "A lot of us black Americans are worried and angry about the widening racial divide in America, especially the upsurge of white politicians trying to wipe out almost every gain made by minorities during the last 35 years. But we have not designated Farrakhan to articulate our concerns in words that sound treasonous or approving of all the murderous dictators and scoundrels of Africa and the Middle East."

That is one issue. Is the Congress of the United States going to express its views of the most scandalous denunciation of the United States by an American citizen of high visibility in Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Nigeria and elsewhere? I believe the Congress will again speak overwhelmingly, as it denounced the hatemongering here at home 2 years ago.

The second issue that our resolution calls for is a request to the President of the United States to direct all appropriate executive agencies to ascertain whether U.S. laws were violated and, if so, to engage in the prosecution of those violations to the fullest extent of the law.

None of us is above the law. We all have equal rights to free speech. We are all equally responsible for our actions. The laws of the United States must be obeyed, and they will be obeyed.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Lantos.

I recognize my friend from New York, Mr. King.

(Disruption in audience).

Mr. SMITH. This is my second warning.

(Disruption in audience).

Mr. SMITH. This is not the forum for this.

(Disruption in audience).

Mr. SMITH. I ask that he be escorted from the chamber.

Let me just say a friendly word to my friend who is speaking out of order: you do your cause no good and only harm it when you engage in disruptive activities.

So returning to Mr. King.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

At the outset, I want to sincerely thank you for scheduling this hearing.

I also want to thank my good friend, Congressman Lantos, both for his remarks today and also for the leadership he has consistently shown on this issue, and particularly for the assistance he has given me during the past several weeks.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is fair to say that there is no place in a democratic society for bigotry and racism of any type. This is why, Mr. Chairman, since being a Member of Congress I have consistently denounced Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam because I believe they are anti-white, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and racist.

Similarly, I was the first Member on my side of the aisle to denounce the militia movements, because they are also racist and bigoted. And whether it is on the left or the right, whether it's black or white, there is no room in our society for racism or intolerance.

(Disruption in audience).

Mr. SMITH. The subcommittee will be in order. This is the last warning. All those who engage in that kind of behavior will be ejected from the hearing.

Mr. King.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, when we look at foreign powers such as Libya and its tyrannical leader Muammar Qadhafi, we realize they are a threat to our Nation. Muammar Qadhafi has threatened to kill American officials. Many of the obstructions we see placed around our beautiful Capitol are a direct result of threats made by Muammar Qadhafi and his members of the American Government. We know of his involvements and his government's involvements in instances such as the Lockerbie jet, such as the killing of American servicemen and the repeated threats he has made over the years against the United States of America.

When you combine a foreign dictator, a foreign tyrant such as Muammar Qadhafi and a domestic racist such as Louis Farrakhan, that is dangerous to our Nation.

I just want to make several comments on the recent tour that Mr. Farrakhan made to Africa, particularly to Libya, where we had the Libyan News Agency state that it was going to give $1 billion to Louis Farrakhan to use in this country to penetrate American society, to influence American elections. Then we see Louis Farrakhan coming back to this Nation and saying that he is going to get more than a billion dollars from Muammar Qadhafi and Libya. And that raises several legal questions.

As Congressman Lantos said, we are not talking about freedom of speech. We are talking about the law. And it is my understand-

ing of the law that Americans cannot travel to Libya without prior approval of the State Department.

Now, I received a letter from the State Department saying that it may not violate American law if a person is not using an American passport. Well, I would really like that clarified to see if that is the law, and if it is whether or not the law should be changed to prevent instances such as this in the future.

Second, it clearly violates American law for foreign funds to be used to influence American elections. Yet, Qadhafi has said that was the purpose of the $1 billion. It violates American law to transact business in Libya. I would call on the Treasury Department to look into that, to inquire, make a serious and full investigation.

Mr. Chairman, I am not here to attack the Administration, but I do have several questions which I believe must be addressed by the Administration.

I have written four letters to the State Department asking them exactly what they knew about Mr. Farrakhan's trip before he left. We have been told that the State Department saw an itinerary of Louis Farrakhan's. I have asked for almost a month now if I could see a copy of that itinerary, if it could be made available to the subcommittee, whether or not the State Department knew in advance that Louis Farrakhan was in fact going to be traveling to Libya.

Second, if they did not know he was going to be traveling to Libya, what action did they take once they knew he was there? It is my understanding that when he arrived back in this Nation, he landed at the airport, got off the plane and walked right through the airport without once being questioned by INS or anyone looking at his passport or anyone asking him whether or not he had been to Libya.

Now in the week prior to that, we had heard a State Department spokesman saying how evil they thought this trip was, how dangerous it was. Yet it appears that nothing was done when Mr. Farrakhan arrived back in this country to even question him as to where he had been. No one even looked at his passport to see if it was stamped in Libya.

As for the Treasury Department, we have also asked if they would carry out an investigation and also, of course, the Justice Department to determine whether or not Louis Farrakhan, if he is accepting $1 billion from Muammar Qadhafi to help Qadhafi penetrate American society, whether or not Louis Farrakhan should be forced to register as a foreign agent.

I think there is a feeling, Mr. Chairman, that there are two sets of laws here. Bobby Fischer was not allowed to play chess, and I know of students who have attempted to travel to Cuba who have not been allowed, and yet we see Louis Farrakhan flagrantly, flagrantly, meeting with the worst dictators and tyrants in the world, stating on the record that he is accepting money from those dictators who are sworn enemies of the United States, and yet being able to come back into this country without even being asked one question.

So I think there is a serious question here as to when and how and if the law is going to be enforced. I also think it is important for people in public life, no matter what their race, religion or ethic

background or no matter what their political party, to denounce racism and bigotry and intolerance in all its forms.

As an Irish American, I am very familiar with the suffering that Catholics have suffered in the north of Ireland. I know that Catholics in northern Ireland are referred to as the blacks of Ireland because of their second and third class treatment. So no matter what your race or religion is, you are entitled to your full human rights, but that never justifies reverse bigotry or hatred or racism or denunciation of another person's religion.

So, Mr. Chairman, with that, I thank you for holding these hearings; and I say in closing that those of us in public life have a specific obligation to speak out. We should never allow ourselves to be intimidated by crowds, by mobs, by threats or by any other type of disruptive behavior.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. King. I appreciate your remarks.

Ms. McKinney.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

To say that the subject of this hearing is challenging is indeed an understatement. I await with interest the evidence our witnesses possess of rogue nations exercising influence on U.S. policy.

It is my understanding that the State Department lists Iran, Iraq, Libya, Cuba, Syria and Sudan as rogue governments. For the most part, the behavior of these rogue governments has affected how we conduct our foreign policy as well as how we react to other nations which have relationships with them.

Unless one is privy to reports gathered by U.S. intelligence agencies, the only information most of us have about the supposed activities of rogue nations is in the popular press. Most of us learn to discount the outrageous claims made by despots in their own media.

I believe we all support the premise that individuals working on behalf of foreign governments should register as lobbyists. However, I would hope that we are not going back to the McCarthy era when, in practice, we stopped supporting the precepts of the Constitution and democracy by prohibiting freedom of association and speech, even if we do not agree with the objectives of a private citizen's actions or statements.

As far as violating the Logan Act, even our friends from the Justice Department would admit that this law has never been tested because of grave concerns about its constitutionality.

If this hearing is a thinly veiled excuse to do a little Louis Farrakhan bashing, then I would like to get this statement out of the way up front. Louis Farrakhan is not above the law, but neither is Louis Farrakhan beneath the protections of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

I have criticized Louis Farrakhan for past anti-Semitic remarks, and I am also concerned about these rogue nations' aggressive posture toward Israel. And so there is no doubt about my own posture, I will note for the record that since I came to Congress in 1993 I have a 100 percent voting record in support of Israel.

Surely the greatness that is America can withstand the impact of the words of one man. Surely the respect we have for our own rights will prevent us from trampling our most sacred freedoms in

a vainglorious rush to silence one voice. Surely this hearing will not deteriorate into an excuse to break the hearts, still the feet and hush the roar of millions of voices crying out for moral leadership from elected and nonelected leaders as they seek to restore their families, our neighborhoods and our communities.

Mr. Chairman, I deplore attempts by rogue nations and terrorists to influence U.S. policy. I am also very interested to hear from our witnesses how rogue nations have recently affected U.S. policy.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. McKinney, thank you very much for your fine statement.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey, my friend and colleague, Don Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

From the outset, let me say that I deplore and condemn acts of terrorism in any form. Violence against innocent people to achieve political ends can never be justified. Widely publicized terrorist incidents in recent years have served as a painful reminder of the tremendous toll that this form of violence exacts in terms of human anguish and suffering.

Salient acts of terrorism are not confined to the international arena. The tragic Oklahoma city bombing, which allegedly involved a plot by fanatics against their fellow American citizens, has left us shocked and grief stricken.

We are in agreement on the issue of terrorism. As Members of Congress, each of us takes an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States which bestows rights and responsibilities on every American citizen. Laws which are held to be constitutional must be observed, just as the right of individuals to speak freely must always be protected. That is the oath we take. That is what it means to be an American and to live in a democracy, which is the envy of millions of people around the world.

In all candor, Mr. Chairman, I am surprised that this hearing has even been called. I must say that I find it hard to believe that a country as strong and as powerful as the United States of America is in any danger of allowing our policy decisions to be influenced by so-called rogue regimes which practice state-sponsored terrorism. Perhaps the term "rogue regime" could be more clearly defined here today.

We have watched with great concern as military exercises have been conducted by the Communist regime of China just outside the Taiwan Straits in an apparent attempt to intimidate Taiwan before their elections. Yet while the United States has sent the U.S.S. *Independence* battle group to the area to be followed by another aircraft carrier, the *Nimitz,* in what could escalate into a U.S./China showdown, China continues to enjoy Most Favored Nation status as a U.S. trading partner.

Maybe one of our panelists could explain this disparity to us today. I hope that the witnesses can shed some light on today's topic by citing specific examples of how nations who practice state-sponsored terrorism have influenced or attempted to influence U.S. policy.

Again, I have to say that I personally have faith that our U.S. citizens are loyal Americans who will never be influenced by rep-

resentatives of terrorist nations, but perhaps the witnesses have new information on this topic to share with us.

Let me also say finally and with all due respect to a comment made by the gentleman from California regarding a resolution that condemned a speech, I, too, found the speech made by a gentleman to be a bigot. I found it to be just one of the worst kinds of talk speeches that I have ever heard, and I condemned it. I disagreed with it. But I think that the record should be clear that this gentleman was dismissed from his authority and he was chastised by the organization. And so I just think it is only fair that the record be clear.

Mr. Chairman, I look forward to hearing from our witnesses today.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Payne, thank you very much for your statement.

And just for the record, so everyone is very clear, this hearing continues the hearings that began when Mr. Lantos served as chairman of the subcommittee. They were held on July 28th and September 14th of 1993, and the probe at that time was U.S. security policy toward rogue regimes. This is an ongoing and active concern of this subcommittee, and I think it is important that we continue doing this.

I am glad the gentleman brought up China because, as he knows, he and I and others have been outspoken. I have led three human rights trips to the People's Republic of China. I have actually been in one of their gulags, Beijing prison No. 1, and saw the consequences of a dictatorship and the unbelievably harsh measures that are meted out on a daily basis to the people of China. So you made an excellent point about the People's Republic of China.

Mr. SMITH. I would ask Mr. Barr, Bob Barr, to come forward. Congressman Barr was elected to Georgia's Seventh District in November 1994. Prior to his election, Mr. Barr was in the Central Intelligence Agency from 1971 to 1978 and was the U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia from 1986 to 1990. As a representative, Mr. Barr serves on the prestigious House Judiciary Committee and as vice chairman of two of his subcommittees.

Mr. Barr, please proceed.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. BOB BARR, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF GEORGIA

Mr. BARR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you members of the subcommittee for allowing me the privilege of testifying here today on the vital subject of rogue regimes influencing our Nation's domestic and international policy.

As the Chairman very nicely put it, I bring to this debate a somewhat unusual background, having served in both the Central Intelligence Agency and being somewhat familiar with the forces at work in the world both historically and currently, as well as a U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia from 1986 to 1990 and, therefore, bring at least some passing familiarity with our laws—how they are investigated, how they are enforced, how these cases are prosecuted and sentenced.

Mr. Chairman, with the ever-changing dynamics of our global political environment, it becomes more important than ever for our Nation to sustain its long-standing ability to preempt both overt

and covert attacks against our country and its citizens. It is truly and legitimately a question of national security. National security interests are nonnegotiable and represent the one arena in which we must all come together for a common goal.

For the sake of our Nation's security and the security of our citizens, our government has instituted several laws to provide for the careful balancing of freedom and enforcement that our Constitution demands. Recent events surrounding the relationship between U.S. citizens and foreign rogue regimes brings us squarely to the point of deciding whether certain of these laws are going to be enforced or not; and, if not, should we instead just do away with them? I come down squarely on the side of keeping them and enforcing them.

What are some of these laws that seek to stop efforts by any foreign regime, especially a rogue regime, from trying to subvert our government and our political system?

The list that I have provided and which I will discuss is not nearly exhaustive, Mr. Chairman, but rather simply illustrative of the vast array of legal tools available to our government in this area if our government chooses to exert policy decisions to enforce these laws.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act, for example, Mr. Chairman, found at 22 U.S.C., 611, requires all persons who act as agents of a foreign principal to register with the Attorney General. The registration must include detailed information about the principal and the agent, the nature and amount of financial ties and the activities which the registrant has performed and intends to perform for the principal. The registration must be updated every 6 months. The act defines "agent of a foreign principal" in Section 22 U.S.C., 611(c), and that is contained in the materials there.

Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, agents of foreign governments are defined and provided that whoever, other than a diplomatic or consular officer or attache, acts in the United States as an agent of a foreign government without prior notification to the Secretary of State, shall be fined or imprisoned.

Another pertinent provision, Mr. Chairman, of current law is found in Title 2 of the U.S. Code, containing restrictions on campaign contributions and expenditures by foreign nationals. This provision of the Federal Election Campaign Act, or FECA, prohibits foreign nationals from making any contribution or expenditure, directly or through another person, of money or other thing of value in connection with any local, State or Federal election, convention or caucus. These prohibitions extend to any promise, whether made expressly or impliedly, to make such a contribution or expenditure. These provisions further prohibit any person from soliciting, accepting or receiving a contribution or expenditure from a foreign national.

The FECA regulations prohibit foreign nationals from directing, dictating, controlling or directly or indirectly participating in the decisionmaking process of any person or entity engaging in election-related activities. For example, under the FECA regulations, a foreign national would be prohibited from directing the contributions or expenditures of a political committee in connection with any election.

The FECA defines the term "foreign national".

Moreover, then, Mr. Chairman, 611(b) of Title 22 defines the term "foreign principal" in pertinent part to include: a government of a foreign country and a foreign political party.

These laws, Mr. Chairman, which are set out in more detail in my written remarks, reflect our national consensus that foreign governments, movements or persons—or a U.S. person acting for them—should not be allowed to influence our domestic political process. This is a basic tenet of sovereignty.

The Logan Act, Mr. Chairman, imposes further restrictions on the involvement of private persons in our Nation's foreign affairs. That is set forth in detail in my remarks and is found, Mr. Chairman, in the Criminal Code, 18 U.S.C., Section 953.

There are other areas of law which work in conjunction with the above-mentioned statutes in discouraging interactions between our citizens and foreign entities that would undermine our national security.

The International Economic Emergency Powers Act, or IEEPA, Mr. Chairman, found in Title 50 of the U.S. Code, section 1701 and further, is a very broad laying out of authority by our code that confers extensive discretionary power over foreign economic transactions on the President to deal with any substantial part outside the United States to the national security, foreign policy or economy of the United States, if the President declares a national emergency with respect to such a threat.

There are further restrictions laid out, Mr. Chairman, in the passport travel restrictions found in the Code of Federal Regulations 22, as well as in our Criminal Code, 18 U.S.C., Section 1544. These are laid out, Mr. Chairman, in my remarks in more detail.

Moreover, Mr. Chairman, as a general matter it should also be noted that any false statements or entries made knowingly and willfully to any department or agency of the United States, which would include the Department of State, any consular office, the Department of Justice, among any other, are prosecutable offenses under 18 U.S.C., Section 1001.

I would like to state, Mr. Chairman, that we do not necessarily need expanded Federal powers to sustain our Nation's defenses against foreign influence, and we certainly need not revoke or diminish our citizens' rights to free speech, privacy or travel. Rather, our government should simply and straightforwardly enforce the laws currently on the books.

Through the enforcement of current laws, our Nation will be in the position of knowing clearly who is an advocate of a foreign government, whether the action of an individual or an organization is funded by a foreign entity, and whether an individual or organization is truly aiming to subvert the U.S. Government. Once these questions are answered, our government is also entrusted with adequate enforcement mechanisms to sustain the security and peace of our Nation and its citizens.

It becomes our responsibility, as representatives charged with drafting laws and determining their usage or lack thereof, to guarantee the rights of our citizens are protected from government intrusion. It is equally our responsibility to determine if the laws of our Nation are adequate to achieve their purposes and if they are

being enforced fairly without regard to considerations other than evidence of guilt.

With regard to the so-called "rogue regimes" such as those of Iran, Iraq, Libya and the others already mentioned here today, I would hope we in Congress share a common and well-founded understanding that the goals of these regimes are not only counter to those of the United States but are also directly designed to weaken, if not destroy, this country.

It is an unassailable responsibility, indeed duty, of our government to ensure that U.S. citizens not engage in activities in support of those regimes, which contravene our national security interests and our laws designed to ensure the integrity of our political process; ensure the smooth and proper functioning of our foreign relations; and ensure that foreign interests, especially those with avowed goals of destroying our government, and those who represent in fact or in law the interests of those foreign regimes or movements, are registered, in order to track or defend against their efforts to subvert this country.

This is, quite simply, among the most fundamental of national interests and responsibilities. This Congress must not shrink from reviewing these laws and these matters in light of the danger posed us by these rogue regimes and by those who would align themselves in spirit and in fact with them.

Mr. Chairman, the laws are there to address the potential problems posed by any citizen's relationship with rogue regimes in Iran, Iraq, Libya or any other terrorist regime. The fact that those laws have been used infrequently is irrelevant, unless, of course, we make a conscious decision that we as a government don't want or need the protection they afford us, that we are simply not going to enforce them and we ought to take them off the books.

In fact, these laws have been used. For one, as the gentleman from New York indicated, against world chess champion and U.S. citizen Bobby Fischer. Some would argue they should have been used during the Vietnam War.

I argue simply that the credibility of our foreign policy mechanism and of our criminal justice system, which seeks fairness and justice, demands that we at least have the backbone to review the situation presented us—no one here today is manufacturing that situation—wherein a prominent U.S. citizen has traveled to the capitals of several rogue, anti-U.S. regimes, met with rogue, anti-U.S. and pro-terrorist regime leaders and reportedly engaged in substantive negotiations involving alleged involvement by those regimes, and by this man on their behalf, in the American political process.

Our government clearly has an interest here, and the American people have a right to expect our government—legislative and executive branches alike—to not turn a blind eye to the very real possibility that U.S. laws were broken in this process, and the protection afforded our national security by these laws and others thereby compromised.

It would be ironic, Mr. Chairman, if, just as this body has begun fully debating whether our laws are adequate to protect us against acts of terrorism, our government were to consciously take a walk when presented with evidence which, on its face at least, indicates

a U.S. citizen and an organization in this country are engaging in activities with known terrorist regimes designed to pollute if not subvert our domestic political institutions.

The issues of this hearing are of very real and critical importance. When a foreign rogue regime leader pledges $1 billion to a U.S. citizen to "mobilize" an effort within the United States, stating, "Today we have found a loophole to enter the United States fortress and confront it from within," when, in response, one of our own citizens is quoted as saying, "I am happy with the results of this meeting in order to play a strong role not only in the American elections but also in U.S. foreign policy," then it becomes our responsibility to ensure the laws of our Nation are adequate and that they are enforced. It is a question of national security, of sovereignty and of credibility. Either we have them or we don't.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would be happy to answer any questions by the Chairman or members of the subcommittee.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Barr, for walking the subcommittee through the tools that are available to the Clinton administration or any other executive branch to deal with attempts by rogue nations to manipulate our political system.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Barr appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. And I think if there were three words that perhaps—and I don't want to put words in your mouth—that sum up your testimony, they would be: enforce the law. The tools available to this Administration are adequate, if I heard you correctly, but enforcement is the key. In your view, has the executive branch enforced the law?

Mr. BARR. Mr. Chairman, I would echo what my friend, Mr. King, has said. I have written to the Administration, both the Secretary of State as well as the Attorney General, and asked them to review these matters, and I have not even been afforded the courtesy of a reply. Based on that, based on an extensive review of the public record in these matters, Mr. Chairman, I would say the answer to that is, very clearly, a no.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. I would like to pose a number of hypothetical questions to you, Mr. Barr. Assuming that Qadhafi were, in fact, to offer Mr. Farrakhan an amount of money—whether it is a billion dollars or $10 million is secondary—to influence the American election process and were Mr. Farrakhan to accept such an offer, what would be the consequences from a legal point of view?

Mr. BARR. Well, the consequences would depend, first, Mr. Lantos, on whether or not the prosecuting authority, that is the U.S. Department of Justice, either itself or through its U.S. attorneys that would have jurisdiction, elected to prosecute the case.

Mr. LANTOS. Let's assume that they were to elect to prosecute the case.

Mr. BARR. Based on the hypothesis that the gentleman has laid out, I think that it would present a case, looking at it as a former prosecutor, that would certainly be worthy of, at a minimum, very serious review from a prosecution standpoint. And if the evidence is there, which it would seem to from the hypothetical standpoint and certainly looking at some of the things in the public record,

which are not part of the hypothesis but if they were, I think that it would present a case that should be prosecuted.

Mr. LANTOS. Would it be legal for a U.S. citizen to accept from a foreign government official, such as Qadhafi, any amount of money for purposes of influencing U.S. elections?

Mr. BARR. The amount of money is not a part or an element of the prosecution. It would not depend on the amount of money.

Mr. LANTOS. So any amount of money accepted for purposes of influencing U.S. elections would be an illegal act?

Mr. BARR. It would appear to be, Mr. Chairman—I mean, Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Now, let me pose another hypothetical question.

Qadhafi has indicated clearly that his interest in offering such vast sums is to influence U.S. policy. Mr. Farrakhan, in his public speeches, spoke of receiving funds for purposes of building factories, schools, business establishments. Were Qadhafi to offer funds for nonpolitical purposes, would a U.S. citizen be allowed to accept such funds?

Mr. BARR. One would have to look at the circumstances surrounding the transaction, the purposes, whether or not they are credible or not, whether they are, in fact, an attempt to subterfuge or camouflage the real purpose of it. That frequently might be the case.

Therefore, simply that they were given on the surface for a benign purpose, as it were, would not grant immunity from prosecution. A prosecutor would very well have a responsibility to look behind the transaction to see what the intended purpose really was.

Mr. LANTOS. Isn't there a parallel here between various individuals providing the terrorist organization Hamas with funds ostensibly for the purpose of civilian and praiseworthy pursuits—running nurseries or old-age homes, medical centers, whatnot? But some of those funds clearly in the case of Hamas-received resources were diverted to terrorist acts. So the statement that the funds are provided for praiseworthy activities in itself is no guarantee that some of those funds would not be diverted to illegal purposes?

Mr. BARR. That is correct, and it also should not afford the basis for a decision not to prosecute.

Mr. LANTOS. Now, let me ask a question or two, if I may, with respect to travel to countries which appear on the list of states that officially support terrorism, such as the ones that were visited on this trip—Libya, Iran, Iraq and others. What is the responsibility of the Department of State to ascertain that U.S. citizens don't violate laws against visiting such places?

Mr. BARR. The responsibility ultimately is not on the Department of State, Mr. Lantos. It is on the individual seeking to do that travel to determine if there are any restrictions and if, in fact, that travel which is contemplated is for the purpose of visiting a regime or a country that is on the list of terrorist regimes.

Mr. LANTOS. Well, let's assume that the individual determines that he doesn't care about the prohibition but visits the country nonetheless, as in this case a highly publicized trip. What then is the responsibility of our government?

Mr. BARR. I think the responsibility of the government, Mr. Lantos, is not so much a legal one as a policy one, in that it has to

determine what is the message which it would like to convey not only to the rest of the world but to our own citizens. If it, in fact, tacitly condones by not objecting or not lifting a finger to make sure that this person knows what he or she is doing, then I think that sends a very tragic message in that the government—our government or a particular administration—is not interested in enforcing those laws and in fact is providing tacit support to those regimes.

Mr. LANTOS. Is it reasonable to assume that if the government chooses to ignore the laws on the books it actively contributes to undermining public confidence in our legal system?

Mr. BARR. I believe it does, Mr. Lantos; and we can see that not only in this particular area involving foreign policies but in a whole range of criminal laws on the books in our country.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Mr. Barr.

Mr. BARR. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

Mr. King.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Barr, I want to thank you for your testimony and taking your time to share your thoughts with us today.

I just want to focus in on two issues. One is on the question of passports.

I received a letter dated March 15th from Wendy Sherman, Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, on this issue of Mr. Farrakhan's visit to Libya. She said to me, the passport restriction is not violated if an individual does not use his U.S. passport for the travel.

Can you explain what they mean by that? How they will be traveling without using a U.S. passport and—just try to answer that.

Mr. BARR. No. It would strike me, as I think it probably strikes the gentleman on the subcommittee, as a rather odd and at best pinched interpretation of our laws. It would be very interesting to see what the Department of State has to say about that.

Mr. KING. Because it would seem to me if what they mean by that is that Libya did not require a passport to get into the Nation and, therefore, that means that no American law is being violated, then that law is meaningless because any foreign dictator who heads a country which is on the list of countries we can't travel to will just get around the law by not stamping the person's passport when they come in.

Mr. BARR. Well, and to follow that argument through, which I think is a very valid one, it would almost lead one to the conclusion that our own government is engaged in conspiracies—in a conspiracy to subvert its own passport laws.

Mr. KING. Now, as a follow-up to that, it is my understanding when Mr. Farrakhan arrived back in the United States that when he got off the plane, he was not questioned by anyone from INS, any government agency whatsoever, as to where he had been, nor did anyone look at his passport.

Now, if the State Department or the Justice Department or INS, whoever has ultimate jurisdiction, was interested in carrying out the investigation, wouldn't they have taken advantage of that op-

portunity when he was arriving at the airport to at least look at his passport, to at least ask him where he had been?

Mr. BARR. Well, here again, one would presume so, unless what we are witnessing here is a series of transactions beginning with what Mr. Lantos indicated, in that there is no objection being interposed and tacit approval being granted to a person traveling to that country; following that through to then claiming that they don't really need to use their passport and therefore they are not violating any U.S. travel restrictions or passport restrictions, and then when they come back into the country, our government knowing exactly where they have been, what they have said and at least part of what they have done, chooses not only to not subject them to the same restrictions or limitations as any citizen coming back into this country normally would be held to, such as at least being interviewed, it does lead one to the same conclusion and that is that our government simply is not interested in enforcing those laws, at least as against that particular individual.

Mr. KING. I have one more question, Mr. Barr.

On the issue of being required to register as the agent of a foreign power, foreign principal, is it your belief there actually has to be evidence of the money changing hands or is it enough to have a public offer and acceptance?

It seemed to me here we have an—I am trying to think back to my days in law school, but it would seem to me you almost have a public record of offer and acceptance where Qadhafi is offering the money, saying he is going to give it to Farrakhan; Farrakhan saying he will accept it. Do you believe that that is sufficient of itself to—if not to ultimately indict but to at least carry out a full and thorough and probing criminal investigation?

Mr. BARR. I think it would be, Mr. King.

First of all, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act there is no requirement that money change hands; and under our Federal election laws a promise to pay is sufficient to certainly raise the specter of the law having been violated. It does not necessarily require that money actually change hands.

Mr. KING. Also, in this case, where the government has been put on notice that a billion dollars may be changing hands—or may be being used in this country—would it behoove the Justice Department to not just investigate Mr. Farrakhan personally but also the various entities of his empire such as security companies and a newspaper, any other businesses that he may own or control, to ensure that the money is not being laundered through those entities?

Mr. BARR. Well, speaking as a former prosecutor, Mr. King, and having witnessed the ways, for example, in international drug trafficking and money laundering, the ingenuity with which both domestic and foreign organizations can use or the ingenuity with which they can develop mechanisms, shell corporations and so forth with which to disguise the routing of money and the purposes for which it is both given and received, it certainly should not be the end of the matter if an individual says, hey, I didn't receive it or I didn't really mean it. I think that any credible prosecutor would want to look a little bit beyond that and look at various entities that they know exist which have been used in the past by various organizations to disguise the transfer of funds.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Mr. Barr.

Mr. SMITH. The Chair recognizes the gentlelady from Georgia, Ms. McKinney.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I really have some questions about the Logan Act and its constitutionality. I also have some questions about the Foreign Agent Act, but I think Mr. King pretty much clarified. Maybe you can restate for me again about the offer of money and the exchange—the actual exchange of money. Does it have to take place or is an offer merely enough to trigger the Foreign Agent Act?

Mr. BARR. Ms. McKinney, the operative provisions of the Foreign Agent Registration Act have to do with the actions of the person who is either purporting or, in fact, acting for the foreign government. It really does not have anything to do with the transfer of funds. If a person, quite without being remunerated, decides that they want to act on behalf of a foreign government, then the provisions of the Foreign Agent Registration Act would come into play.

With regard to one of the other provisions that we have been discussing, and that is the Federal Election Campaign Act, there, again, it would not require necessarily that the money be actually paid but the prohibitions on foreign involvement in our electoral process would reach a promise to pay and a person then taking that promise and beginning to act on behalf of that foreign government to involve themselves in our domestic political process.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Let me clarify the type of behavior then that the individual would engage in. For instance, if it were voter education, voter registration, the typical kinds of things that we do to make sure that voters go out to the polls, those kinds of things would be considered illegal if the funding were from a foreign agent, is that correct?

Mr. BARR. I believe they would be or if they were done at the behest of and with the intent to carry out the wishes of a foreign power or foreign entity.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Let me also clarify then that if the intention is not to destroy our government, if the intention is not to subvert this country, if the intention is not to pollute our institutions, then even at that point the behavior would then be illegal?

Mr. BARR. It would be. I believe, Ms. McKinney, that the theory behind these laws is to protect the sanctity of our political process from outside our border's influences.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Yes. Let me see—as relates to the Logan Act, has that ever been tested constitutionally?

Mr. BARR. I don't believe that it has been. It has been on the book, as the gentleman knows, for pretty much all of our history, I think going back to 1789. I am not aware of any prosecutions under it.

Mr. PAYNE. Yes. All right.

Then also about the IEEPA, now in that law it states that there has to be a national emergency with respect to such a threat; and I just wonder if you could relate this—the national emergency part that is in Section 1701(a) that you referred to. Is there a national emergency, as you see it, as it relates to this particular situation?

Mr. BARR. Well, I think one would have to look at those circumstances under which it has been used and in which various administrations, both Republican and Democrat, have determined that a national emergency with respect to a particular threat does, in fact, exist.

This historically has not necessarily risen to the level that we have armed hostilities with a country. That would be a much more narrow view than this Section has been afforded. So it can be as little, I suppose, as a nation posing threats to individual U.S. citizens or as much as armed hostilities or something in between where we have a nation that in the view of an Administration supports, gives aid and comfort and encourages acts of international terrorism.

Mr. PAYNE. OK. I just have a question, because this whole notion of national security is one that intrigues me as I indicated in my opening remarks, I am concerned about terrorism in the United States, as I referred to in the Oklahoma City bombing.

Now, I saw yesterday that there is a fellow named John Howard who—and I want to get into this national security—who has a store called the Redneck Store. It is in South Carolina. He is interested in having a Klu Klux Klan museum in his store in Laurens, South Carolina. He displays robes and at one point had a coffin with a rope around the neck. In yesterday's Washington Post it had pictures in a first-page article.

Now there is some research that talks about our militia and clanspeople, a threat to the national security. I was just looking at a report. For example, in your State of Georgia, the militia and the Klan groups—I see about eight or nine or ten—111th North Georgia Militia, Citizens for a Constitutional Georgia, Cavalier Knights of the KKK, Federal Fraternal White Knights of the KKK, the Friendly Knights of the KKK, Unified KKK, the Confederate Hammerskins, the First Strike Skinheads, the U.S. Klan Knights of the KKK. All of these are organizations that, according to a report done by Library of Congress, that there is a question about do these organizations present a national security threat. There are, indeed, those who feel very strongly that these types of organizations indeed are a national security threat.

Could you tell me your feelings on that militia, the Klan, the national threat type of thing that you were talking about in your citing in your remarks?

Mr. BARR. I suppose, Mr. Payne, if there were a foreign power that for one reason or another sought to use those organizations as a vehicle through which to influence our elections, the same as seems to be the case here, then I think that these same laws would and should be used to apply equally against them.

Mr. PAYNE. Well, you know these groups talk about, for example, an Aryan nation. Now, that is a nation within a nation. That is sort of, to me, to be not listening or not following this Nation's rule because we have the United States of America. They talk about the Aryan nation and the neo-Nazis which Nazis, of course, are a group from outside the country at one time.

So my concern is that there are many things going on that I think ought to be looked at.

Now, I think that this John Howard has a first amendment right. He says he is going to open up a chain of Klan museums all over Georgia and all over. He has a right to do it. That is his first amendment right. I deplore it. I think it is bigotry. I think it is terrible. But under our Constitution he has the right to do it.

But the concern that I have is, for example, since April 1993, because of activities of this kind, there have been 26 black churches burned down since 1993.

There have been—Reverend Alan Anderson of Friendship Missionary Baptist Church Congregation, it was just burned down recently.

Now, we had the ATF, the good-old-boys network. This is the report about how they came together to talk about having Dr. Martin Luther King in the middle of the target. They would all shoot that, members of our Federal Government, the ATF, the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau. And a report just came out about the involvement there.

I am concerned about the men from the Aryan nation that left Fort Bragg, three soldiers that found two black people walking down the street, and they were shot down in cold blood.

What I am saying is that I support this hearing. I have no problem with it. But I would like to see some hearings about some of these things that are happening in our country because they are as deplorable as anything else.

That is my only point, that I don't see the attention—we have not had a hearing on any one of these issues since the new Congress took over. That is not right.

I will just leave it at that. I appreciate your testimony. I certainly have been brought up to date on some of these legal issues. But, by the same token, people who continually hammer about this situation, I would like the same person to stand up and start talking about these things that affect my community just as much as any; and that is people on both sides of the aisle. I am getting sick and tired of it.

That is all. I have no questions.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Payne.

Just let me be very clear—again, I think a careful review of what this subcommittee has done, as the gentleman knows so well, would reveal that we have explored human rights abuses everywhere and anywhere, that we have had evidence and hearings.

Let there be order.

We had a hearing just recently, I would say to my good friend from New Jersey, at which we probed the skinheads and talked about that issue vigorously. We have had multi-hour hearings on that issue on anti-Semitism, anti-Christianity, and a whole host of other issues as they relate to human rights. So this subcommittee takes second place to no one in trying to be fair.

Hate is a crime. I get upset when people say that it is futile to look at human rights abuses. Human rights abuses are indivisible. If anyone's rights are diminished, your rights and my rights are diminished.

So we will continue in this subcommittee to speak out anywhere in the world where those abuses occur. We have done it, and our record is very clear.

Mr. Lantos previously and Mr. Yatron, who ran the Subcommittee on Human Rights while the Democrats had control, focused on these things as well. I remember when we had a day-long hearing looking at the kinds of things that the neo-Nazis and the skinheads do throughout the world, including in this country. So Mr. Lantos and I have spoken out on these issues frequently.

Mr. PAYNE. OK. I would just like to ask then if we could have a hearing dealing with the 26 black churches that have been burned down in the past year or two, and we should bring the same kind of thing forward. That is all I am saying. I would hope that the gentleman, who I really have a great deal of respect for, I wish that the gentleman would consider that as an agenda item for our committee in the future.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. May I make an observation on Congressman Payne's points? I think he deserves a great deal of credit for pointing out the outrageous and preposterous ongoing instances of bigotry and racism directed at our African-American citizens. I could not agree with him more.

I think the essence of this society is that it be a society tolerant of all religions, ethic groups, races; that it should be respectful of rights of men and women on an equal basis; and I think it is absolutely critical that the Congress and its appropriate committees deal with all aspects of discrimination, bigotry, racism, persecution in whatever ugly form they manifest themselves.

I need not point out to my good friend from New Jersey, because we were in that fight together, that it was the Foreign Affairs Committee which held hearing after hearing and passed most effective legislation against the sickening apartheid policy of the government of South Africa during an earlier regime. So I think your point is extremely well taken.

Our commitment to fight against racism and bigotry in all its forms is undiminished. In this instance, we are dealing with a series of acts involving prominent leaders of blood-soaked totalitarian regimes who have publicly proclaimed their hatred of the United States and their determination, to use their own words, to destroy the Great Satan. We are concerned that no American citizen should get away with impunity in identifying himself with those statements. But I fully agree with the views expressed by you, and I strongly support the actions you have called for.

Mr. KING. Mr. Chairman, can I make one comment, please?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. KING. I would like to say in reference to Mr. Payne and also Ms. McKinney, for that matter, that I have found them extremely supportive of any human rights issue without regard to race, religion or ethnic background. I know that they are two of the first that I go to whenever I feel there is a particular injustice to be addressed.

I think that should be put on the record, that all of us try to work together without regard to one's race or religion; and I just want to make that absolutely clear in the record.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. King.

Mr. Barr, thank you very much for your expert testimony.

Mr. BARR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to invite the second panel to our hearing this afternoon.

Daniel Pipes is a senior lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania and editor of the Middle East Quarterly. He has served in the Departments of State and Defense and directed the Foreign Policy Research Institute for 7 years from 1986 to 1993. In addition to his nine books on the Middle East, Mr. Pipes has published articles in major magazines and newspapers across the United States; and his writings have been translated into 15 languages.

Michael Ledeen has been a consultant for several departments of the executive branch, a special advisor to the Secretary of State from 1981 to 1982, and a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He has written or co-written 11 books on foreign policy. Mr. Ledeen is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington.

James A. Phillips is a veteran foreign policy specialist who has written extensively on Middle Eastern affairs since 1978. He is a former research fellow at the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress and a former Joint Doctoral Research Fellow at the East-West Center. Mr. Phillips is currently a Senior Policy Analyst for Middle Eastern Affairs with The Heritage Foundation.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to ask Mr. Pipes if you would begin your testimony at this time.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL PIPES, EDITOR, MIDDLE EAST QUARTERLY

Mr. PIPES. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

I am a Middle East specialist, and so I will talk about the Middle East. I will argue that the Middle Eastern rogue states are trying to do far more than to influence U.S. policies. They seek to change the very nature of our government.

Mr. SMITH. Would you just bring the microphone a little bit closer, please?

Mr. PIPES. Toward this end, they rely on a variety of means, both illegal and legal.

I hope you will not consider this effort to be hopelessly quixotic. Obviously, I don't think they are going to succeed; but I do think, at the same time, it is serious.

Let me point to the fact that just a few months ago a jury in New York convicted Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman of seditious conspiracy—in other words, of trying to overthrow the government of the United States. However remote he may have been from achieving it, he was close to killing many people; and, therefore, we must take him and others seriously.

Which are the rogue states? In the Middle East, they are Iraq, Iran, Libya, also Syria and Sudan; and others are on the watch list.

In addition to these states, many movements in the region qualify as rogues. Some are well-known, others not, some work with regimes, others not. All of them, without exception, harbor a very strong antagonism toward the government of the United States. Nor are they shy about announcing their hatred of this country and particularly its government.

I would like, by the by, to quote some of their statements. Some of them hate every American. "Death to America", the Iranian slogan, is an example of that.

Likewise the sheik in New York has said that the United States is "the enemy of Islam". Hasan at-Turabi, the effective ruler of the Sudan, says "The enemy is America."

Others say that it is only the government of the United States, that the people are all right. But, in all cases, they agree that they should declare a unilateral war on the United States. Khomeini said that "Iran is a country effectively at war with America." At-Turabi says that the Sudan is engaged in a war with us. They say so often.

Now, we are inclined not to take this very seriously. Looking at these speakers, then looking at ourselves, we ask, how can they engage in war against us? But they do. And they think they can engage in war against us because they don't take American power very seriously.

We saw an example of this in 1991 when Saddam Hussein went to war with us; right through the war he thought he would win. Why? Because he said that we are a Nation of "highway robbers, criminals and unwanted people". He saw us as a kind of mongrel race that lacks the history of Iraq, that lacks the fervor, the blood lines of Iraq and therefore could not defeat Iraq.

Also, many of the rogue leaders say repeatedly that the United States is a country without faith, that we have lost our purpose. They draw a caricature of Western self-indulgence and rot. "AIDS, drugs, venereal diseases, alcohol, and tobacco abuse" are plagues of modern America, and they dismiss us as a not serious competitor.

Some of their statements are quite evocative. One leading apologist for the Iranians has said, "GI's clutching photos of their girlfriends would be no match for the soldiers of Islam clutching copies of the Koran." This sort of sentiment is widespread and explains how small regimes and weak movements think that they can take on the United States of America.

There is also, in addition to the military dimension, a cultural one. As one fundamentalist leader in Egypt has said, it is a struggle of cultures, not one between strong countries and weak countries: "We are sure that the Islamic culture will triumph," or, in the more colorful language of the effective ruler of Sudan, "The supremacy of the U.S. Coca-Cola culture will soon come to an end."

In an effort to fight the United States, rogue regimes and movements engage both in illegal and legal activities. On the illegal side, you know about terrorism, hostage taking, counterfeiting, and drug smuggling.

I wish to point out to Representative McKinney who asks what importance this all has, that hostage taking has had particular importance. Terrorism has not had all that much importance over the last three decades. Drug trafficking and counterfeiting might have importance some day in the future, but hostage taking has on two occasions demonstrably had an effect on American policy: First, the Iranian seizure of American hostages from 1979 to 1981 had a major impact on the Presidential campaign of 1980; and then the holding of American hostages in Lebanon between 1982 and 1992 had a demonstrable impact upon the Reagan administration, lead-

ing to Iran-contra and other efforts. I won't go into detail on this, for it is well known to all of us.

Rather, I would like to emphasize the other side, the political dimension of rogue State influence. This is less noted because it is less obviously aggressive, but I believe it may in the long run be more important than blowing up buildings, taking hostages, or running drugs.

Rogue states and movements are building up a network of agents and allies within the United States. They dispatch their people to conferences with very large attendance, 5,000 or more in hotel rooms in States like New Jersey, Oklahoma, Michigan, and Illinois. They help build elaborate political, financial, and in some cases even operational infrastructures.

Let me give an example of two such rogue regimes, Libya of Qadhafi and the Iranian regime of the Islam Republic. Qadhafi began in the 1970's by supporting a whole range of institutions, including Georgetown University, radical American Indian groups, the Black Panthers, and Jimmy Carter's brother, Billy. But fairly soon he focused in on the Nation of Islam, which for years has been his main access to American society. He gave money to NOI in the 1970's and 1980's, yet this relationship only blossomed in the last half-year. I would like to give you a chronology of what happened, perhaps you may not be aware of all the steps.

On September 1 of each year Qadhafi commemorates his coming to power in 1969 with a major speech; in September 1995, he mentioned his readiness to donate "$100 million or even a billion dollars" to the Nation of Islam to organize American Muslims and get them "to cast their votes to the candidate who serves the Arabs".

The Million Man March in October 1995 so impressed Mr. Qadhafi that he immediately called Louis Farrakhan and told him, as Mr. Farrakhan quotes him, "Brother, the wealth of Libya I will put behind the Nation of Islam."

In December Qadhafi further promised "unlimited" support to the Nation of Islam.

In January 1996, when Mr. Farrakhan visited Libya, the Libyan leader was reminded of this promise, and, as you know, reiterated his offer of $1 billion. When this was noted by Representative King and others, the Libyans promptly backtracked and unequivocally denied any financial offer. But Mr. Farrakhan, at the end of February, said that he had been promised "more than a billion. And I'm gonna accept it."

In the case of Iran, the networks are somewhat different. The Iranian Government has a substantial foundation located in New York, whose 990–PF.tax forms indicate they have close to $100 million in assets in this country, with an income stream of some $10 or $15 million a year, money which they use to promote their brand of Islam.

In addition, from time to time it appears that Iranian money goes directly from Iran to the United States. In a letter earlier this month, per example, Representative King wrote to Attorney General Reno saying he had information from an "unimpeachable foreign diplomatic source" that Mr. Farrakhan had received $5 million from Tehran.

The Iranians have developed, in addition, a substantial network of Muslim organizations, publications, and spokesmen who make their arguments in the United States.

From time to time their allies in this country track their own statements word for word. When the Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati said that "the British today are on their deathbed. Other Western countries too are in a similar state," he was echoed by Mr. Farrakhan who said that "America lies on its deathbed." There is a congruity of views.

I believe this outlook is important because it is trickling out to the wider public. An increasing number of American citizens are learning this anti-American hatred from the Middle East.

As an example, let me close by mentioning an event that took place a week ago, when a basketball player, a 27-year-old convert to Islam, Mohmud Abdul-Rauf, indicated he would not stand for the national anthem and would not pay homage to the American flag. He quickly backtracked when all Muslims questioned on this matter said there is nothing in Islam that suggests he couldn't pay homage to the American flag.

But Mr. Abdul Rauf's statements about the American flag being a symbol of oppression stand, and, to me, they are very striking: when an otherwise sensible young man earning $2.8 million a year starts talking like an ayatollah, something is afoot.

Though brief-lived, Mr. Abdul Rauf's demonstration of anti-Americanism is significant. It reveals how far the rot of anti-Americanism has traveled; also, such views by an admired basketball star do much to make his kind of outlook socially acceptable. He was the first professional sports player ever punished for refusing to stand for the American national anthem. He is unlikely to be the last.

My recommendations to Congress are to focus on the legal side, not the illegal side, of anti-Americanism: not so much the terrorism and counterfeiting, but the consciousness raising, the turning of Americans into anti-Americans.

In part, this is a government problem. You who are in public life must use the bully pulpit, as you are indeed doing today. It is also something for public institutions—schools, the armed forces, jails—to keep an eye on.

Most of all, it is incumbent on private institutions, for these have means that the Government does not. For example, the National Basketball Association could force Mr. Abdul-Rauf to stand. The Government could not have done that. Private institutions can use their influence to remind people that the rogue states of the Middle East and elsewhere are awful places and have very unpleasant aspirations for ourselves. Business executives, union leaders, Hollywood producers, journalists, teachers, and religious figures should argue against the rogues and to teach what it means to be an American. What is obvious to me—that life in this country is immeasurably preferable to that in Iraq or Libya—clearly is not obvious to everyone. Those of us who understand this simple truth must explain it to our fellow citizens.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Pipes appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Pipes. Mr. Ledeen.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL A. LEDEEN, RESIDENT SCHOLAR, AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE

Mr. LEDEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am grateful for the invitation to testify before this subcommittee on the important subject of efforts of rogue regimes to influence American domestic and foreign policy.

My credentials in this field are perhaps of some interest to members. In the mid-1970's I was Rome correspondent for The New Republic and consequently spent a good deal of time covering the spread of terrorism in Western Europe, with particular emphasis on the activities of Libya which was then embarking upon a major campaign to influence Italian policy. I wrote at some length about the considerable financial investments by the Qadhafi regime in Italian industry, media, and even restaurants and real estate, as well as the celebrated financial, logistic, and military support given to Italian, European, and Middle Eastern terrorists and self-proclaimed national liberation organizations, including the Red Brigades and the IRA.

When I moved to Washington in 1977, I continued to write on the subject as well as a long investigative article in 1980 on the efforts of the Libyans to use President Carter's brother Billy to influence American policy.

While special advisor to the Secretary of State in 1981 and 1982, I worked on efforts to convince our NATO allies to join with us in the quarantine of Libya, and I continued to follow these matters as a consultant to the Pentagon and the National Security Council through 1985.

As a scholar of European affairs, I have been fascinated by the highly successful campaign of Saddam Hussein of Iraq to convince some of the most distinguished European intellectuals, journalists, politicians, and businessmen, that he represents a moderate and modern leadership in the Middle East and I have written extensively about the amazing support for the Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution here and in Europe, as well as the armies of apologists for the preeminent rogue regime of our time, the Soviet Union.

Recently I have expressed concern about the successful co-option of some American Government officials and business leaders by the People's Republic of China, which I hope will cheer Mr. Payne.

So my testimony today is not just a response to current events but, rather, part of a long-standing concern and interest both in the phenomenon itself and the policy issues that grow out of it.

All foreign governments, friends and foe alike, and many foreign organizations attempt to influence American policy to their own advantage. Depending on their resources and the history of relations between themselves and the United States, they can draw upon long-standing friendships, immigrant communities here, sympathetic Americans in politics, business, academia, media, and sport, or paid advisors and lobbyists. We accept these activities as a legitimate part of our political debate, asking only that those who are paid to advocate the views of foreign entities will honestly and openly acknowledge their working relationships, the better to understand their motives and evaluate their objectivity.

For the most part, this is a political issue. We want to know the difference between a person who speaks out of conviction and a paid lobbyist, not that the two categories are totally distinct.

When we decide that foreign governments threaten the national security of the United States, we sometimes forbid Americans to accept payment from them for professional services, just as we sometimes forbid American corporations to do business with them or forbid certain kinds of commerce, especially in areas that help build their military power. There are even some cases in which travel to such countries is forbidden. In these cases—the rogue regimes which interest this subcommittee today—Americans who advocate their causes may be prosecuted for violation of criminal statutes. But these cases are rare and are generally handled effectively by those agencies of the executive branch charged with the enforcement of the laws. So I will devote my limited time today to the political issue.

I believe that the overwhelming majority of Americans are quite capable of distinguishing between friends and enemies of the United States and they will reject those who plead the cause of our enemies, provided that the facts are known.

The Soviet Union mounted an enormous campaign of disinformation in this country, trying desperately to convince our political, business, and intellectual elites, that the U.S.S.R. was a peace-loving society and that we should treat it like any other "normal" country. The Soviets succeeded in fooling many Americans, even to the point where some of their apologists argued that we, the United States, were the root cause of the East-West conflict, but it was a very limited triumph. With rare exceptions—the case of the neutron bomb is exemplary—American public opinion remained hostile to the Soviet Union, and whenever the American Government presented the facts to the American people, the policy of containing Soviet power and influence got the support that it deserved.

In like manner, the efforts of rogue regimes like Syria, Iran, Libya, Iraq, and Sudan to achieve good relations with the United States have generally failed, because American political leaders and the American people know such countries are hostile to our values and to our interests.

To be sure, there have been moments of confusion, and rogue regimes have had some success in influencing our policies.

In the late 1970's, many American politicians, journalists, and intellectuals, driven by revulsion at the human rights violations of the Shah's regime, and carried away by a long-standing romanticism about Third World "national liberation" movements, were convinced, or managed to convince themselves, that the fanatical Islamic fundamentalists around the Ayatollah Khomeini were more attractive than the Shah. These people supported the bloody, reactionary revolution that came to power in 1979.

Our Ambassador to the United Nations referred to Khomeini as "a religious man", and spokesmen for the State Department and the intelligence community insisted that Khomeini's own writings, replete with violent diatribes against Christianity, Judaism, and the core values of Western Civilization, were forgeries. This moment of delusion was actively supported by supporters of Khomeini,

some of them paid, others, the vast majority, quite convinced of the rightness of their cause.

The American Government convinced itself that we could work well with Khomeini's regime, and it was not until American diplomats were taken hostage that the terrible truth was finally manifest to all.

The failure to recognize the true nature of Khomeiniism led to a foreign policy debacle of enormous magnitude, and we are still paying for it today. Not only do the people of Iran suffer at the hands of a murderous and intolerant regime, but its venomous hatred of the West is directed against innocent victims both here (where opponents have been murdered on American streets) and in allied and friendly countries. Iranian-sponsored terrorism has taken many American lives, most recently in Israel, where Iran's friends and clients in Hamas have murdered scores of soldiers and civilians. But over the course of time, the facts have become known, and the apologists and advocates of Khomeiniism have been discredited.

The other great supporter of Hamas, Syria, has had somewhat greater success, but this is more the consequence of Syria's strategic importance and power than of any American sympathy for the Assad regime. Syria, quite properly, remains on the list of terrorist sponsors. Nevertheless, it is disconcerting, to put it mildly, to see Syria invited to a world forum on antiterrorism, which, as I have written elsewhere, is rather like inviting Al Capone to an FBI session on anti-Mafia policy.

But Syria has very little following in the United States. One hears very few Americans suggest publicly that we should alter our policy and improve our relations with Syria. The invitation to Assad was made in tribute to his power. We know that there can be no meaningful Middle East peace settlement if Assad does not support it, and so our diplomats are striving mightily to find a way to bring him to the table.

Of the current crowd of rogue regimes, Libya has exerted the greatest effort to manipulate our policy. The Libyans spent a lot of money on Billy Carter in the last 2 years of the Carter administration, but it does not seem to have paid off. Qadhafi has tried very hard for the past few years to improve its relationship with the United States, hiring distinguished Washington lawyers to attempt some kind of rapprochement, and inviting scores of academics and businessmen to meet with Libyan leaders in North Africa, trying to convince them that better relations are in the interests of both countries. I myself was invited to Cairo early in 1995 to meet with one of the ranking officials of the regime, and he spent half a day trying to convince me that Libya genuinely wanted a warmer relationship and asked my advice for ways to achieve this. When I told him that his government must deal directly with the United States and Great Britain on the matter of Libyan responsibility for the murder of hundreds of passengers on Pan Am 103, there was no further dialog, nor have I seen any indication that Libyan efforts to recruit other supporters have met with great success, with the one notable exception of the Reverend Louis Farrakhan.

Reverend Farrakhan has distinguished himself by embracing a number of Arab rogue regimes. He has deplored our policy toward

Iraq as "wicked" and "mass murder of the Iraqi people". He has apparently agreed to help Qadhafi achieve a better image in the United States, and he has embraced Khomeini's vision of an Islamic revolt against America, which he has characterized as "The Great Satan", Khomeini's favorite one-liner. He has been an apologist for the states of Sudan and Mauritania, countries that subject tens of thousands of black Africans to harsh chattel slavery. In so doing, he has not only pleaded on behalf of enemies of the United States but has attempted to legitimize regimes whose enslavement of Africans violates the most fundamental principles of human equality.

I do not believe that Reverend Farrakhan will have much of an effect on American policy.

Mr. SMITH. The gentleman will suspend.

I have asked everyone here to show respect for the witnesses. The rules of this subcommittee, the full committee, and the House of Representatives are that audience participation is not allowed. These gentlemen are witnesses.

I will keep the hearing record open at the end. If you would like to make a submission, we will be more than happy to let you do it.

Mr. LEDEEN. I do not believe that Reverend Farrakhan will have much of an effect on American policy provided that our political leaders present the facts to the American people. That is one reason why hearings like these today are so important.

However, I would be remiss if I did not say that it is discouraging that there are no Administration spokesmen here, as it was terribly disappointing to hear President Clinton on the occasion of the Million Man March call on the American people to focus not on the rhetorical excesses of the leader but "on the faces of the people".

This is a profound error, both because words are very important and because the kind of zealousness that Farrakhan seeks to inspire has been dangerous throughout human history. The question is not one of conviction or hypocrisy but, rather, good or evil. Farrakhan has embraced evil, and this must be exposed and condemned.

There will always be Americans willing to embrace the causes of our enemies, either because of misplaced idealism, corruption for the sake of personal gain, or outright necessity. Those who have families in the rogue nations can be threatened with reprisals against their relatives if they fail to obey.

Thomas Jefferson laid down our proper response nearly 2 centuries ago. "If there be any among us who oppose this government or its republican forms", he said, "let them stand undisturbed as a monument to that society where error of opinion may be tolerated, where the force of reason is left free to combat it."

The historical record suggests that we need not greatly fear the efforts of our enemies to manipulate our policies so long as our own leaders are brave enough to confront lies with the power of truth and reason.

The greatest threat to our policies comes from leaders in governments and out who permit themselves to be duped or intimidated, rationalizing their silence or acts of complicity with evil with misguided appeals to tactical reasons of state.

Of these, the most dangerous is the long-standing delusion that one can lure our enemies into our embrace by giving them favored access to our markets, our wealth, and our technological genius.

The American people will not be converted to affection for Qadhafi, Assad, Saddam Hussein, or Sudan's General Bashir, but there is an ongoing danger that leaders of the American Government will convince themselves, as they have so often in the past, that if we only enrich these people and their nations, they will moderate their behavior and become fat and happy citizens of the civilized world.

These policies will not make our fanatical enemies more moderate, they will only make our enemies more powerful.

Today rogue regimes in Libya, Iran, and North Korea are growing more powerful because this Administration has dismantled our precious international system of export controls, and so the rogue regimes are now able to obtain murderous technology that would and should have been denied them in the past.

Mr. SMITH. The lady will suspend immediately or I will ask for her to be removed.

We are in recess.

[Recess.]

Mr. SMITH. The subcommittee will resume its hearing.

Mr. Ledeen, please proceed.

Mr. LEDEEN. Today, rogue regimes in Libya, Iran, and North Korea are growing more powerful because this Administration has dismantled our precious international system of export controls, and so the rogue regimes are now able to obtain murderous technology that would and should have been denied them in the past.

Just as we at home must struggle relentlessly against the false images put forward by the policies of evil foreign regimes, so our Government must struggle to keep the evil regimes weak and isolated.

The forces of reason will surely prevail in the domestic debate. There is, nonetheless, considerable danger that the forces of evil may yet prevail in many areas of the world.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Ledeen appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. The Chair would recognize the distinguished chairman of the full Committee on International Relations, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend you and Mr. King for focusing congressional attention on attempts by rogue regimes to influence our foreign policy.

The purpose of this hearing is to review the legal and policy implications of attempts by rogue regimes, countries which promote terrorism and similar activities and put them outside the communities of civilized nations, to influence U.S. policy.

Although any particular instance of an attempt to allege use by a foreign power to influence U.S. policy is a legitimate subject for inquiry at the hearing, I notice that our committee has not invited any witnesses from organizations which promote or oppose any particular agenda.

Congress does need to know, however, what the Administration is doing about terrorist regimes like Libya, like Iran, which would

seek to use others to influence our own foreign policy. The Congress needs to know if the Administration does have the necessary tools to prevent such activity, clearly mindful of our constitutional amendments.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Gilman.

I would like to now recognize Mr. Phillips.

STATEMENT OF JAMES PHILLIPS, SENIOR POLICY ANALYST, MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS, THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am grateful for the opportunity to appear before the subcommittee.

I would like to focus on the foreign activities of Iran, which I think pose the greatest dangers of all the countries that Mr. Farrakhan visited. I would particularly like to focus on Iran's terrorist activities.

The United States and Iran have repeatedly clashed over a wide variety of issues since Iran's 1979 revolution, which brought the power of a radical, fundamentalist regime, inspired and led by Ayatollah Khomeini.

Bilateral tensions initially flared after the November 4, 1979, seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran by Iranian militants and the subsequent holding of American hostages for 444 days. Iran-U.S. tensions continue to simmer due to Iran's persistent efforts to export its revolution, Iranian support of terrorism, Iranian ideological hostility to the United States, Iran's military buildup, and its opposition to the U.S.-sponsored Arab-Israeli peace process. I will summarize my remarks and not focus so much on the military aspects as on the terrorist aspects.

I believe in the short run Iran is more of an ideological, subversive, and terrorist threat rather than a military threat. Today, Iran looms large as the chief threat to American interests in the Middle East. The political collapse of the Soviet Union, and the military defeat and diplomatic isolation of Iraq, Iran's traditional archrival, has given Iran the opportunity to expand its influence not only in the Persian Gulf/Middle East area but into former Soviet Central Asia.

Although Tehran has toned down its revolutionary rhetoric since the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989, Iran remains a volatile revolutionary State and one that I think that needs to be watched closely. Tehran continues to denounce the United States as "the global arrogance", calls for the expulsion of American influence from the Middle East and seeks to discredit and overthrow regimes aligned with the United States; it advocates the destruction of Israel and adamantly opposes the U.S.-sponsored Arab-Israeli peace negotiations.

Since 1979, Iran has increased its financial, political and military support for radical Islamic fundamentalist movements throughout the Middle East and Southwest Asia.

It has developed close ties with Sudan, which it uses as a training ground and staging area for subversion, primarily of North African states. Tehran sees itself as the leader of the Muslim world, and it has sought to export its revolutionary brand of Islam and to radicalize Muslims everywhere.

The United States, which Khomeini referred to as the "Great Satan", is hated for its support of the Iranian regime of Shah Reza Pahlavi, for its support of Israel, which Iranian radicals seek to destroy, and for its support of modern Arab regimes such as those in Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

But regardless of its policies, the United States is hated for its values and the powerful influence of its culture which Iranian revolutionaries believe seduces Muslims and undermines their pure version of Islam. This ideological motivation explains why Iranian-supported terrorists in Lebanon in the 1980's attacked targets affiliated with the American University of Beirut, which is an educational institution, as well as Christian churches, in addition to the U.S. Marines serving in a multinational peacekeeping force.

Since 1979, Tehran has enjoyed only limited success in fomenting revolution, for a number of reasons. Its greatest success has come in war-torn Lebanon, which it helped to create, finance, arm and train the radical Shiite Hezbollah, the Party of God movement. Several hundred Iranian revolutionary guards, the militant shock troops of the Iranian revolution, work closely in support of Hezbollah in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. Tehran also supports less powerful Shiite fundamentalist groups in Iraq, Bahrain, and Afghanistan. But Shiite revolutionaries have seized power nowhere outside Iran. In fact, Shiite rebellions have been crushed in Iraq in 1991, in Saudi Arabia in 1979, and an Iranian-backed coup attempt was quashed in Bahrain in 1981.

Iranian-supported Islamic revolutions, however, now have better prospects for success in part because of the dissolution of the Soviet Union which has opened up Soviet Central Asia to Iranian influence. This also has deprived secular Arab regimes such as Syria, Iraq, and Libya, of a source of political, military, and economic support.

The failure of Arab socialism in Algeria and Egypt has left them with weak economies unable to absorb the huge number of youths who are entering the work force. Faced with a bleak economic future, young Arabs are turning to radical fundamentalist movements to find hope and meaning in their lives.

Iran has established good working relations with several Sunni fundamentalist groups since 1990, including Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic resistance movement, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, the Islamic Group of Egypt, and similar groups in Algeria, Jordan, and Tunisia.

Iran's efforts to reach out to Sunni fundamentalists have been facilitated by Iran's closest ally, Sudan, which is ruled by the only radical fundamentalist regime in the Arab world. Sudan, which is Africa's largest state, offers Iran a strategic foothold to outflank conservative Saudi Arabia and extend its revolutionary influence throughout North Africa and the Horn of Africa.

Hundreds of Iranian military advisors and revolutionary guards were dispatched to the Sudan to help train the Sudanese Army and internal security forces. Revolutionary guards are also training Islamic fundamentalist revolutionaries there and terrorists, primarily from Algeria, Egypt, and Tunisia.

Sudan has, in effect, become the new Lebanon. Under Iranian tutelage Sudan has emerged as a leading sponsor of international ter-

rorism and has given sanctuary to a wide spectrum of terrorist groups, including many Arab militants who have participated in the fundamentalist Jihad, or holy war, in Afghanistan.

Sudan's escalating involvement in international terrorism led Washington in August 1993 to put Sudan on the list of states that support terrorism.

In the brief time remaining to me, I would like to focus on Iran's direct involvement in terrorism. Iran is the world's most active sponsor of international terrorism and continues to be directly involved in planning and executing terrorist acts, according to the State Department's most recent annual report on terrorism, The Patterns of Global Terrorism.

Iranian intelligence agencies support terrorism (either directly or through extremist groups) primarily aimed against Iranian opposition movements, against Israel, or against moderate Arab regimes. Tehran has established over 20 ideological and military training camps in Iran, Lebanon, and Sudan staffed by Arabic-speaking revolutionary guards.

Hezbollah, Iran's most important surrogate, has become the world's principal terrorist organization, according to then CIA Director James Woolsey, who testified before this committee in July 1993. This Lebanon-based organization has established groups of supporters as far away as Australia, Canada, India, Indonesia, and South America.

Hezbollah's long list of terrorist atrocities include the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine Barracks at Beirut Airport, and the kidnapping of most of the 15 American hostages that were held in Lebanon between 1984 and 1991.

The last American hostages held in Lebanon were released by Hezbollah at Iran's direction in late 1991, after Tehran concluded that continued terrorism would gain it little.

More than a dozen Iranian dissidents have been assassinated in European cities since 1987, including the August 1991 murder of former Iranian Prime Minister Bakhtiar in Paris and the September 1992 murders of four Kurdish opposition leaders in Berlin.

Iran's terrorist campaign against exiled opposition activists appears to be growing in intensity in recent months. Last month, two Iranian exiles were assassinated in Turkey. On March 2, two Sunni Iranian clerics were assassinated in Pakistan. On March 7, another Iranian opposition activist was assassinated in Baghdad. This is the sixth Iranian opposition activist killed in that country in the last year.

Iran's assassins also have struck inside United States. Iranian political activist Ali Akbar Tabatabai, the founder of the Iran Freedom Foundation, was murdered at his home in Bethesda, Maryland, on July 22, 1980.

Although Iranians recently have not been caught launching terrorist attacks on American targets, Iran furnishes substantial financial aid, logistical support, arms, and training to terrorist groups that continue to target Americans. For example, Tehran provided financial support, at minimum, for some of the Islamic militants arrested for the February 1993 bombing that killed 6 people at the World Trade Center in New York. Sheik Abdul Rahman,

the radical Egyptian cleric who inspired and guided the bombers, long has been funded by Iran's intelligence service, according to Vincent Cannistraro, the former head of CIA counterterrorism operations. Sheik Omar reportedly was regularly given large sums of money by Iran's delegation to the United Nations.

Although there was no direct Iranian participation that has been established in the World Trade Center bombing, senior U.S. officials warned in March 1993 that Iranian-backed terrorist groups appeared to be becoming more aggressive.

Iran has branched out and has begun cooperating with nonfundamentalist terrorist groups such as the Abu Nidal organization, the renegade Palestinian terrorist group that has launched some of the bloodiest and most indiscriminate terrorist attacks in history, such as the December 1985 massacres at the Rome and Vienna airports.

Iran also financially supports the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command, a pro-Syrian group that has launched numerous terrorist attacks against Israel and western countries.

Iranian-supported terrorists have been active particularly in Turkey. The Turkish Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility in 1992 for the murder of an Israeli diplomat and the bombing of an Istanbul synagogue. It is also believed to be responsible for a series of murders of Turkish journalists.

But in recent years it has been Israel that has borne the brunt of Iran's terror campaign. Iran was involved in the March 1992 bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires which killed 29 people. In March 1994 three Iranian agents were arrested in Thailand in an abortive attempt to bomb the Israeli Embassy in Bangkok.

Iranian involvement is also suspected in the July 1994 bombing of the Jewish Community Center in Buenos Aires, Argentina, which killed 96 people. Most recently, Tehran has welcomed the terrorist offensive which Hamas has launched against Israel in the last month that has killed 62 people in four suicide bombing attacks. The State-run Iranian news service initially called the bombings "God's retribution" and although Iran subsequently has backpeddled away from this statement in a halfhearted damage control effort, it is still clear that Iran remains one of Hamas' foremost foreign backers.

Iran supports Hamas with terrorist training and financial support, and Israeli intelligence officials estimate that Iran now provides 10 to 20 percent of the roughly $70 million in donations that Hamas annually receives from its supporters around the world.

In conclusion, given Iran's repeated use of terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy, I believe it is important to maintain a concerted international effort to economically and diplomatically isolate Iran until it can be convinced to halt its efforts to export revolution and terrorism.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Phillips appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you for your testimony.

I will begin the questioning and then yield to our distinguished chairman for any questions he might have.

No one is above the law. As a matter of fact, one of the most hallowed principles of U.S. jurisprudence is that everyone ought to be and should be and must be treated equally under the law, much to the chagrin of President Nixon, who discovered that. Congressmen and Senators routinely discover that when they fail to properly fill out their financial disclosure forms or have a conflict of interest, the next thing you know, there is either an ethics or an even worse complaint filed against them sometimes leading to action against them in court.

Congressman Barr testified earlier that the laws on the books are adequate to the task for the subject of today's hearing. My question is, in your view, is the Administration faithfully enforcing those laws based on what you know?

Mr. Pipes.

Mr. PIPES. I would like to focus on an issue that is normally not talked about much, that of counterfeiting.

In a few weeks we are getting a new $100 bill. It has come into existence because the Syrians and Iranians have produced a counterfeit of the existing $100 bill that is so fine that almost no one can recognize it.

The problem is, the Secret Service and the Treasury Department look at this problem as merely routine counterfeiting, that is to say, a case of counterfeiting to make money on the cheap. It appears to be more than that. Rogue regimes appear to be producing these bills also in an effort to undermine confidence in our currency. This is an issue which the Administration should become aware of—in other words, not just the criminal activity, but the political aim to damage this country. I don't see enough political understanding of this new problem.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I ask this of all the panelists. Has our Government responded effectively to the prior reports of this kind of activity? Do you feel we are responding in an effective manner?

Mr. PIPES. To which reports?

Mr. GILMAN. To the reports of this kind of support from rogue regimes to people within the United States to affect our foreign policy.

Mr. PIPES. No, it is not taken seriously. It is seen as something so outlandish, so preposterous, so unlikely to succeed, that it is not given the attention it deserves.

I am not here to say that our Government is about to fall, but there is a systematic effort by the Iranians, Libyans, and others to find agents and allies within the country to turn against the Government and against the institutions of the country, and that is not being recognized in the way it should be.

Mr. LEDEEN. Mr. Chairman, my own belief is that I am not terribly concerned about the efforts by these countries to manipulate American politics or policy, since they have almost always failed in the past. What I am concerned with is the political dimension of it within the United States, but more particularly, and since this is the International Affairs Committee, a legitimate issue for you,

failure to take the necessary steps in real policy terms to weaken the rogue nations themselves.

I am much less concerned about people advocating the cause of Qadhafi or Assad or General Bashir or whoever in this country. I don't think they are going to succeed. I am alarmed that it is becoming easier and easier for such regimes to lay their hands on advanced murderous technology and a good deal of that is due to the fact that we have abandoned any serious efforts to control the flow of these technologies around the world.

I recently addressed this in the case of China, which provides some of this technology to rogue nations, and some of that technology is coming from the United States. These are clear cases where we are failing to do our job.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I think the laws on the books are adequate, and what is missing is the political will to enforce them.

I think that there is a case that can be made that what Minister Farrakhan is doing is against American interests, but that is not really a case that can be tried in court, just being against American foreign policy. Many people have spoken out against American foreign policy in the past. I am more concerned about aspects such as support of terrorism, which I don't believe he has undertaken, or violations of passport laws or economic sanctions regulations.

In the long run, I am more concerned about the flow of weapons of mass destruction technologies to Iran. The Chinese and the Russians are supplying these kinds of technologies, and that is something that could be the ultimate terrorist weapon.

Mr. GILMAN. Do we know anything about sponsorship of political activity in our country by other Communist governments such as North Korea, Cuba, China, Vietnam? Are any of our panelists aware of those kinds of activities?

Mr. LEDEEN. There is a huge record about Cuban support for various kinds of political activities in the United States. That has been documented by this and the intelligence committees over the years, Mr. Chairman; yes, indeed.

Mr. GILMAN. Does anyone else want to comment?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I think that the Soviets have one of the most extensive and successful efforts at disinformation and influencing our foreign policy elites, our media. I think a lot of that has come to light. The Iranian effort, to me, is much less sophisticated, much less extensive. They target more narrow audiences. It is something that concerns me, but on a scale relative to the Soviet disinformation effort, it is not quite the same.

Mr. PIPES. I disagree somewhat. The Iranians are the bearers of a very live ideology. Marxist-Leninism is defunct in this country as an ideology, but fundamentalist Islam is alive. Now to create a better man and a better society, you look not to communism but to a radical, ideological version of Islam. I wish to stress that this ideology is not traditional Islam. It is a 20th century ideological version of Islam. While the Iranians are the primary purveyors of this ideology in the world today, they are not the only ones. Increasing numbers of Americans are adhering to this ideology. Implicit to it is a hatred of the United States, whether the individual be Iranian or American. There are growing numbers of Americans, such as the basketball player who came to prominence last week, who hate this

country, who want the world to know that they hate this country. That is legal, but it is a real problem when well-formed organizations spew forth such anti-American hatred. They are making these ideas available, which are being picked up. This is something new and worthy of the attention of leading private institutions in this country.

Mr. GILMAN. One last question. Is there any evidence that legitimate political or charitable activities funded by sponsors of international terrorism serve as recruiting agencies or hiring halls for illegal activities? Have you come on any information of that sort?

Mr. PIPES. You are speaking of money going from the United States to the outside world?

Mr. GILMAN. Yes.

Mr. PIPES. There is considerable evidence over the last 3 to 4 years, as the chairman indicated, that fund-raising efforts in this country to fund ostensibly praiseworthy institutions in the Middle East are, in fact, also going to support terrorism. There have been arrests both here and abroad. I don't know that there are any convictions yet, but the evidence is quite solid, and it shows that the United States has become a favorite place for fund-raising and for strategic thinking about terrorism in the Middle East.

That's not surprising: we have freedom of speech here, fine communications and transportation networks, and a lot of money in this country. As a result, you find increasingly that money is raised here for operations carried out in the Middle East.

Mr. GILMAN. Do other panelists wish to comment?

If not, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

First let me commend our three witnesses for extremely substantive and valuable testimony.

One cannot help but begin by commenting on how little attention is being paid by the media to the threat that rogue regimes represent to the United States compared, say, to the O.J. Simpson trial. I mean, the volume of attention devoted to basically a single criminal act compared to a series of countries filled with hatred for the United States and engaging in all of the activities you have outlined, from drug trafficking, terrorism, hostage taking, counterfeiting, and perhaps most significantly, influencing thinking and action in the United States by American citizens.

It seems to me—and I would like all three of you to comment—that one of the reasons for this lackadaisical attitude stems from the fact that, since the collapse of the Soviet Union when the danger was so highly visible and so highly concentrated, there has been such a profound diffusion of these threats, from North Korea to Iran to Iraq to Libya to Sudan to, you name it, that the overwhelming bulk of our citizens haven't got a clue as to what these regimes do, who their leaders are, what their purposes are, what their stated objectives are vis-a-vis the United States.

When we had a concentrated enemy called Joe Stalin, and the Soviet Union, notions such as Joe Stalin giving a billion dollars to an American citizen to influence the United States has been the

No. 1 topic of the media for a long time. Now this is diffused, not followed, not reported, not dealt with.

I am wondering if any of you have any pragmatic suggestions for refocusing the attention of our people on this danger from rogue regimes, because I fully agree with you that the rogue regimes, with their determination to gain weapons of mass destruction and refine methods of terrorism, represent a far greater degree of menace than misguided Americans who praise them.

Mr. Pipes.

Mr. PIPES. Congressman Lantos, you point to a very real problem, which is a dramatic loss of interest by the American people in the outside world after the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

I don't know that there is much to be done about this except for those of us who maintain an interest to keep our eye on the outside world and to do our best to keep the American people alert to ominous developments—or opportunities.

I have no dramatic suggestion to make. We specialists must simply continue to keep our eyes open.

Mr. LEDEEN. Thank you for your observations, which I think are right on.

I would make two points. First, it is part of our national DNA; the American people are not interested in foreign policy; foreign policy does not sell newspapers, does not sell advertising space on the evening news. Our founding fathers warned us not to get involved with those corrupt things outside our shores, so it is a long-standing tradition. It is very hard to get America's attention on foreign policy. We always answer crises late.

We were bombed into World War II; our ships were sunk on the North Atlantic to get us to World War I; we were in the process of demobilizing when Stalin yanked us back into the cold war, et cetera.

So most of the time we are saved by our enemies. They do crazy and wild things to get our attention. We would have dismantled everything long before the Gulf War if Saddam Hussein hadn't invaded Kuwait. If he had waited a couple of years, we would not have had that military power to go after him. So it is part of an American tradition. I doubt that we can do too much to reverse that. It is what we are.

As far as there is a remedy, it can only come from political and intellectual leadership. That means, above all in the field of foreign policy, the executive branch. The executive branch has to take leadership. The President has to address the country, the Secretary of State; this Administration, has not done a very good job of that.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I agree and I would add that, as Americans, we tend to be crisis-oriented and crisis-calloused. It takes a lot to wake people up. In order to keep a margin of error, I think we need to deploy missile defenses and strong military forces to back up our foreign policy.

But also I think we should be doing more in the field of antiterrorism, that we should be putting more pressure on our allies to help isolate these rogue states.

Presently the Europeans are succumbing to short-term economic and commercial interests and jeopardizing long-term interests in security not only vis-a-vis Iran but Libya, Sudan, and other coun-

tries. And we should be putting more pressure on them to join us in putting economic pressure on the rogue regimes to show there is a price to pay for terrorism and it is not just a "business as usual" relationship.

Mr. LANTOS. When we had our first hearing on this same subject 3 years ago on the subject of the rogue regimes, our hearing was minimally attended because it had no domestic components.

It is an intriguing commentary that this high degree of attention has been attained not by virtue of the increasing danger that rogue regimes pose but the tangential relationship of rogue regimes to a domestic component. Maybe we need to find a domestic component every time if we wish to focus attention on the very serious problem of rogue regimes.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. King.

Mr. KING. I would like to thank each of the three witnesses for their testimony.

Time is short. There may be votes coming up. I will just ask one question to Mr. Pipes. Maybe he could expand on what he said in his testimony.

On page 9 you say, the relationship between Qadhafi and Farrakhan truly blossomed only during the past half-year. I know why you say it blossomed, but why do you think it has blossomed?

Mr. PIPES. I think that it reached a new level not so much because of any change of views in Libya but because Mr. Farrakhan has attained a much higher level of visibility in this country.

When Libyan interest in Mr. Farrakhan began 20-odd years ago, he was a minor and obscure figure. Today a much better known and more important figure, this gives the ruler of Libya the feeling that he has real access to American society in a way that he didn't before.

Mr. KING. Do you have any thoughts or any speculation as to where this relationship could lead?

Mr. PIPES. I doubt very much the possibility of a substantial transfer of funds.

Mr. SMITH. I ask that there be order again in the committee room, please.

Mr. PIPES. The Libyans are poor. As with the other oil-producing states, they had great fortunes in the 1970's; their standard of living increased apace. Then their income declined, and they lacked resources. Libya is now a quite poor country. Qadhafi doesn't have a billion dollars to give away, or even a fraction of that, so his promise is rhetorical, not more.

At the same time, his declaring that there's a breach in the fortress should be taken seriously. It indicates that he has made a real effort to find an agent in the United States who will forward Libyan ideas. It could have been a professor at Georgetown University or Billy Carter, but I think Mr. Farrakhan is the one who is most suitable to Mr. Qadhafi, and he will give money to the best of his ability, but he doesn't have an awful lot.

Mr. KING. Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for the hearing, the quality of witnesses, and the testimony. It was very compelling, as were some of the reactions from the audience.

I think that especially Congressman Lantos, his statement combined with the testimony made a very, very strong case for the resolution which we have introduced condemning Mr. Farrakhan for his statements and for his actions on his terror tour of Africa. I believe we should watch as to exactly what actions are taken by the Treasury Department, the Justice Department and the State Department to officially investigate what transpired on the tour.

I want to thank the bipartisan leadership, which was on television this past Sunday on Meet the Press, Congressman Armey, Congressman Gephardt, Senator Daschle and Senator Lott, all of whom said that investigations of Farrakhan should proceed in the Congress. I think it was very courageous on their part and a guide to us as to how we should be conducting ourselves in the Congress.

Certainly I think all of us should monitor this issue very carefully, and if subsequent hearings are necessary, we should have them. This is a key and vital issue which as Congressman Lantos has said, unfortunately, too many Americans do not realize the true enormity of it. But I think it is our job as public officials to make sure they do know just how dangerous this issue is, just how dangerous Mr. Farrakhan is and just how dangerous his relationship and alliance with tyrants and despots such as Muammar Qadhafi could be to this Nation. So with that, I certainly intend to speak out and do all I can and I know I will have the support of good people in this Congress.

In reference to what Mr. Payne said, I want to say on the record to Mr. Payne that I stand ready to work with him to combat the militia movement in this country. I think it is something that has not been insitutionally addressed by this Congress, and I will work with him on that. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Order in the subcommittee.

The Chair would recognize the gentlelady from Georgia, Ms. McKinney.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, want to join in commending the panelists for their presentation today.

Mr. Pipes, you mentioned something that struck me as being very interesting. You said we need to teach what it means to be an American. I would like for you to know that I represent 600,000 Americans with hopes and aspirations, and teaching Americans what it means to be Americans means allowing Americans—and that is all Americans—to participate in the dream of America.

Perhaps what America needs now, more than ever, is to call a recess to the blood sport and to do some serious introspection. I would hope that at the end of this day we would ask ourselves, have we taught America what it means to be America?

It appears to me that perhaps the most obvious lesson of today is that we have some healing to do, some healing to do as a Nation. I intend to rededicate myself to that healing so that under no circumstances would any firm ground be found by anybody who might want to subvert our Government.

Mr. Chairman, I do commend you for your dedication and commitment to human rights. Congressman Lantos and Congressman Payne have reminded us of our own social crisis. That social crisis,

unresolved, can be a serious threat to our personal and national security.

With that, I would just say thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Ms. McKinney, for your very eloquent remarks, and for standing up on behalf of human rights around the world, as you do so faithfully on this panel.

I would like to recognize Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much.

I would also like to commend the chairman for calling this hearing, and let me say that I think that a number of issues have been brought out. I just want to comment on a few things that have been said.

I heard Mr. Ledeen talk about the failed policy—foreign policy of this Administration. I would probably ask him to—it might be his point of view. That is why we have the First Amendment, because everyone can have their own point of view, even if it is flawed.

We have a success in Haiti where, for the first time, a democratic government has transformed and turned a government over to another democratic leader. We have seen a coming together in Northern Ireland of the various groups, although there has been a temporary breakdown. I think that there will once again be a peace accord where discussions, for the first time in centuries, organizations have talked about peace. I have seen Bosnia, where we have peace being enforced, where the other Administrations looked the other way. I see a standdown out in North Korea, where they are not building nuclear reactors anymore. I can't see where you call this a failed policy.

I see that the Administration will strengthen sanctions on Nigeria, which I strongly support for a government that has taken human rights from the Ogoni people. And so I have a different view as to foreign policy and its failures and its successes.

I also would like to mention that I personally think that people should stand up when the flag is risen. I think that I always did, and I guess I am somewhat a little old fashioned, so I have a feeling about the flag.

But let me say this, that I can't see where this tremendous amount—this whole question of being disloyal is raised so much when the great State of Georgia, where our former witness is from, has as its State flag the flag of the Confederacy, which is opposed to the U.S. Government. That is their flag that people stand toward, and they pledge their allegiance to the Confederacy, which was opposed to our Government, our American flag. And then the same thing in the State of Mississippi, where a Confederate flag is the flag that is put up highest in the land, and I think that that is wrong, because I think everyone should have their allegiance to the American flag, not the flag of the Confederacy that pulled away from our Government.

So if we are going to criticize a basketball player from the Denver Nuggets—and, like I said, I think he should stand and he is standing—I still say that we should look at what is happening in the State capitols in those cities. So we can't have one without the other. I think that we have to have balance and that is all we ask for, fairness.

Equal justice is absolutely right. I would like to say that when, in your, once again, lack of wisdom, you said that the occasion of the Million Man March, calling on people not to focus on rhetoric excessively but the face of America, you criticized President Clinton, I guess you also probably criticized me, maybe because I was a very strong supporter of the Million Man March.

Let me tell you something about marches. You know, it was the fact that in the 1880's there was a march because women didn't have the right to vote and they marched—nothing really new. They had a big march for women's suffrage.

In 1932, World War I veterans sought fair compensation from our Government, and they came and they marched on Washington.

In 1963, there was a great march on Washington. Dr. Martin Luther King and many others—A. Phillip Randolph, John Lewis, many other people—participated.

And October 16th of 1995, there was another march because it was time to march. It was time to march because in our communities we see drug abuse, we see school dropouts, we see broken families, we see the fact that people cannot be gainfully employed in our communities. We have seen Headstart turned back, Section 8 eliminated, student loans cut down, job training turned around, Medicare and Medicaid turned about. But we see $2 billion spent on a B–2 bomber, and we see a $245 billion tax cut. So it was time to march.

I take offense when you tell me why I marched. I marched because my community needed to come together in unity. I marched because I want to see a better day. I marched because I want to see hope for young people in the future.

And I take offense for you to tell me why I came down with AME ministers, with Baptist ministers, with community leaders. I came down because I had a purpose to come down. A million men came down for probably a million different reasons. And don't ever tell me that I came down because of a charismatic leader that had to bring me around.

Mr. Farrakhan probably disagrees with me as much as I disagree with him, and that is fine. We are both grown. I don't defend him, and he doesn't defend me. We are two grown individuals, aging people.

All I am saying is that I take offense for all of those people who participated for you to feel you have the right to tell me why I participated.

I have no other questions.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Payne.

Mr. Ledeen.

Mr. LEDEEN. If you will permit me, I take offense too, Mr. Payne, for you to suggest that I said any such thing, which I certainly did not.

[Disruption of audience.]

Mr. SMITH. Order in the hearing room, please.

Mr. LEDEEN. I criticized the words that Minister Farrakhan pronounced on the occasion of that march, just as you expressed your opposition to many of his words. We all quite agree. There are lots of great marches in American and world history, and there are lots of terrifying marches in American and world history. They are not

all the same. And it is far from my intention, nor would I ever imagine, to put words in your mouth, and I would simply be grateful to you to do the same for me.

What I criticized was when President Clinton said that the Million Man March should not be judged by the words that Minister Farrakhan pronounced but by the expression on the faces of the people, and I criticized that because I insist, as you insist, that words are important. We have to pay attention to words. It is not just a matter of inspiring a crowd of people.

I agree with all the sentiments that you expressed about the importance of your community to come together and to defend family traditions and the integrity of the people involved and advancing the interests of that community.

What I don't accept and which I will criticize always is, people use language of mass fanaticism and group hatred from that or any other platform, and I know that you agree with that.

So I was pained by your remarks, Mr. Payne, and I hope that you will accept my explanation. I certainly have no intention of putting words in your mouth.

Mr. PAYNE. Let me just say this. Could you tell me the words that were said that day, on October 16, that you found so offensive?

I suppose we don't have time for that.

[Disruption from audience.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Payne has got the floor. Let him speak, please.

Mr. PAYNE. I am following what you said, and I just wondered what words that you heard that day, and that is what we are talking about, that day. You criticized people because to you, I guess, the faces of the people—and it is written in your testimony—were unimportant.

Mr. LEDEEN. No, sir. My view of the faces of people is that people have been inspired for good causes and evil causes and that simply to see people inspired isn't good enough. The content of the cause is important, and the mission for which they are mobilized is important, and so the words matter.

Mr. PAYNE. Well, you know what? You don't even have a clue. You missed the whole thing. You missed the whole boat. People were inspired because of the unity of purpose, because of the feeling of coming together, because people came to talk about a better day in their community. That is why the faces of people showed hope. You missed the boat.

I have no other questions.

Mr. SMITH. Without further ado, the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5:20 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

OPENING STATEMENT
BEFORE
THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS
REP. BOB BARR
MARCH 19, 1996

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE CHAIRMAN AND THIS SUBCOMMITTEE FOR ALLOWING ME TO TESTIFY TODAY ON THE VITAL SUBJECT OF ROGUE REGIMES INFLUENCING OUR NATION'S DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY. DURING MY TENURE AS THE U. S. ATTORNEY FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA, I DEALT WITH MANY OF THE LAWS WHICH PERTAIN TO FOREIGN ENTITIES AND THEIR ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE OUR NATION'S GOVERNMENT, EXPENDITURES BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS TO INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THE U.S., AS WELL AS PASSPORT TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS.

WITH THE EVER-CHANGING DYNAMICS OF OUR GLOBAL SITUATION, IT BECOMES MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER FOR OUR NATION TO SUSTAIN ITS LONG STANDING ABILITY TO PRE-EMPT BOTH OVERT AND COVERT ATTACKS AGAINST OUR COUNTRY AND ITS CITIZENS. IT IS TRULY A QUESTION OF NATIONAL SECURITY. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS ARE NON-NEGOTIABLE, AND THE ONE AREA OF INTEREST IN WHICH WE ALL MUST COME TOGETHER IN A COMMON GOAL.

FOR THE SAKE OF OUR NATION'S SECURITY AND THE SECURITY OF OUR CITIZENS OUR GOVERNMENT HAS INSTITUTED SEVERAL LAWS TO PROVIDE THE CAREFUL BALANCE OF FREEDOM AND ENFORCEMENT THAT OUR CONSTITUTION DEMANDS. A RECENT CRS REPORT OUTLINED SOME BASIC LAWS THAT HAVE RELEVANCE IN THIS AREA. WITH THE COMMITTEE'S INDULGENCE, I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE THE THOUGHTS OF THAT REPORT. THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT (22 USCA 611 ET SEQ., 28 CFR PART 5). THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT REQUIRES ALL PERSONS WHO ACT AS AGENTS OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL TO REGISTER WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. THE REGISTRATION MUST INCLUDE DETAILED INFORMATION ABOUT THE PRINCIPAL AND THE AGENT, THE NATURE AND AMOUNT OF FINANCIAL TIES, AND THE ACTIVITIES WHICH THE REGISTRANT HAS PERFORMED AND INTENDS TO PERFORM FOR THE PRINCIPAL. THE REGISTRATION MUST BE UPDATED EVERY SIX MONTHS. THE ACT DEFINES "AGENT OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL" IN PERTINENT PART AS

> (1) ANY PERSON WHO ACTS AS AN AGENT, REPRESENTATIVE, EMPLOYEE, OR SERVANT, OR ANY PERSON WHO ACTS IN ANY OTHER CAPACITY AT THE ORDER, REQUEST OR UNDER THE DIRECTION OR CONTROL, OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL OR OF A PERSON ANY WHOSE ACTIVITIES ARE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY SUPERVISED, DIRECTED, CONTROLLED, FINANCED, OR SUBSIDIZED IN WHOLE OR IN MAJOR PART BY A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL, AND WHO DIRECTLY OR THROUGH ANY OTHER PERSON --
>
> > (i) ENGAGES WITHIN THE UNITED STATES IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES FOR OR IN THE INTERESTS OF SUCH FOREIGN PRINCIPAL
> >
> > 22 USCA 611(c)

ALSO IN 18 USCA 951 IT IS STATED

> WHOEVER, OTHER THAN A DIPLOMATIC OR CONSULAR OFFICER OR ATTACHE, ACTS IN THE UNITED STATES AS AN AGENT OF A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT WITHOUT PRIOR NOTIFICATION TO THE SECRETARY OF

STATE, SHALL BE FINED NOT MORE THAN $5,000 OR IMPRISONED NOT MORE THAN TEN YEARS, OR BOTH.
18 USCA 951

OTHER PERTINENT PROVISIONS OF CURRENT LAW ARE RESTRICTIONS ON CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY FOREIGN NATIONALS (2 USCA 441e, 11 CFR 110.4(a,). THESE PROVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT (FECA) PROHIBITS FOREIGN NATIONALS FROM MAKING ANY CONTRIBUTION OR EXPENDITURE, DIRECTLY OR THROUGH ANOTHER PERSON, OF MONEY OR OTHER THING OF VALUE IN CONNECTION WITH ANY LOCAL, STATE, OR FEDERAL ELECTION, CONVENTION, OR CAUCUS. THESE PROHIBITIONS EXTEND TO ANY PROMISE, MADE EITHER EXPRESSLY OR IMPLIEDLY, TO MAKE SUCH A CONTRIBUTION OR EXPENDITURE. THESE PROVISIONS FURTHER PROHIBIT ANY PERSON FROM SOLICITING, ACCEPTING, OR RECEIVING A CONTRIBUTION OR EXPENDITURE FORM A FOREIGN NATIONAL.

THE FECA REGULATIONS PROHIBIT FOREIGN NATIONALS FORM DIRECTING, DICTATING, CONTROLLING, OR DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY PARTICIPATING IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS OF ANY PERSON OR ENTITY ENGAGING IN ELECTION-RELATED ACTIVITIES. FOR EXAMPLE, UNDER THE FECA REGULATIONS, A FOREIGN NATIONAL WOULD BE PROHIBITED FROM DIRECTING THE CONTRIBUTIONS OR EXPENDITURES OF A POLITICAL COMMITTEE IN CONNECTION WITH ANY ELECTION.

THE ACT DEFINES THE TERM "FOREIGN NATIONAL" AS
(1) A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL, AS SUCH TERM IS DEFINED BY SECTION 611(b) OF TITLE 22, EXCEPT THAT THE TERM "FOREIGN NATIONAL" SHALL NOT INCLUDE ANY INDIVIDUAL WHO IS A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES; OR
(2) AN INDIVIDUAL WHO IS NOT A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES AND WHO IS NOT LAWFULLY ADMITTED FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE, AS DEFINED BY SECTION 1101 (a)(20) OF TITLE 8
2 USCA 441e(b)
ACCORDINGLY, SECTION 611(b) OF TITLE 22 DEFINES THE TERM "FOREIGN PRINCIPAL" IN PERTINENT PART TO INCLUDE
(1) A GOVERNMENT OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY AND A FOREIGN POLITICAL PARTY;
(2) A PERSON OUTSIDE OF THE UNITED STATES, UNLESS IT IS ESTABLISHED THAT SUCH PERSON IS AN INDIVIDUAL AND A CITIZEN OF AND DOMICILED WITHIN THE UNITED STATES...
22 USCA 611(b)(1),(2)

THE LOGAN ACT IMPOSES RESTRICTIONS ON THE INVOLVEMENT OF PRIVATE PERSONS IN THE NATION'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AS FOLLOWS:
ANY CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, WHEREVER HE MAY BE, WHO, WITHOUT AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED STATES, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY COMMENCES OR CARRIES ON ANY CORRESPONDENCE OR INTERCOURSE WITH ANY FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OR ANY OFFICER OR AGENT THEREOF, WITH INTENT TO INFLUENCE THE MEASURES OR CONDUCT OF ANY FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OR ANY OFFICER OR AGENT THEREOF, IN RELATION TO ANY DISPUTES OR CONTROVERSIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, OR TO DEFEAT THE MEASURES OF THE UNITED STATES, SHALL BE FINED NOT MORE THAN $5000 OR IMPRISONED NOT MORE THAN THREE YEARS, OR BOTH
18 USCA 953

THE ACT WAS FIRST ADOPTED IN 1798 BUT HAS BEEN LITTLE USED AS A PROSECUTORIAL TOOL. AS NOTED, THE ACT PROVIDES FOR FINES OF NOT MORE THAN $5000 AND IMPRISONMENT FOR NOT MORE THAN THREE YEARS, OR BOTH, FOR VIOLATIONS. THE INCLUSION OF AN ENFORCEMENT MECHANISM, WOULD MAKE IT INCUMBENT ON US TO DO JUST THAT ENFORCE THE LAW.

THERE ARE OTHER AREAS OF LAW WHICH WORK IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ABOVE MENTIONED STATUTES IN DISCOURAGING INTERACTIONS BETWEEN OUR CITIZENS AND FOREIGN ENTITIES THAT UNDERMINE NATIONAL SECURITY. THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC EMERGENCY POWERS ACT (IEEPA) (50 USCA 1701 et seq) WHICH CONFERS EXTENSIVE DISCRETIONARY POWER OVER FOREIGN ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS ON THE PRESIDENT "TO DEAL WITH ANY SUBSTANTIAL PART OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES, TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY, FOREIGN POLICY, OR ECONOMY OF THE UNITED STATES, IF THE PRESIDENT DECLARES A NATIONAL EMERGENCY WITH RESPECT TO SUCH A THREAT." (Id., sec. 1701(a))

THE ACT OF JULY 3, 1926, PASSPORT TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS (22 CFR 51.73. 18 USCA 1544) CONFERS ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE THE AUTHORITY TO GRANT AND ISSUE PASSPORTS (22 USCA 211a). PRIOR TO 1978 THE SECRETARY IMPOSED TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS FROM TIME TO TIME WITHOUT ANY STATUTORY GUIDANCE. BUT IN THAT YEAR AMENDMENTS WERE ADDED RESTRICTING HIS AUTHORITY TO IMPOSE AREA RESTRICTIONS ON PASSPORTS TO THOSE COUNTRIES "WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS AT WAR, WHERE ARMED HOSTILITIES ARE IN PROGRESS, OR WHERE THERE IS IMMINENT DANGER TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH AND SAFETY OF UNITED STATES TRAVELERS (22 USCA 211a). REGULATIONS ISSUED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT REPLICATE THIS AUTHORITY AND PROVIDE THAT PASSPORTS ARE NOT VALID FOR TRAVEL INTO OR THROUGH COUNTRIES THE SECRETARY DETERMINES POSE ONE OR MORE OF THESE RISKS, ABSENT SPECIAL AUTHORIZATION (22 CFR 51.73). IN CONJUNCTION WITH PASSPORT RESTRICTIONS ENUMERATED ABOVE, IT IS ILLEGAL TO MAKE FALSE STATEMENTS IN APPLICATION AND USE OF A PASSPORT.

> WHOEVER WILLFULLY AND KNOWINGLY MAKES ANY FALSE STATEMENT IN AN APPLICATION FOR PASSPORT WITH INTENT TO INDUCE OR SECURE THE ISSUANCE UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED STATES, EITHER FOR HIS OWN USE OR THE USE OF ANOTHER, CONTRARY TO THE LAWS REGULATING THE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS OR THE RULES PRESCRIBED PURSUANT TO SUCH LAWS; OR
>
> WHOEVER WILLFULLY AND KNOWINGLY USES OR ATTEMPTS TO USE, OR FURNISHES TO ANOTHER FOR USE ANY PASSPORT THE ISSUE OF WHICH WAS SECURED IN ANY WAY BY REASON OF ANY FALSE STATEMENT-
>
> SHALL BE FINED NOT MORE THAN $2,000 OR IMPRISONED NOT MORE THAN FIVE YEARS, OR BOTH.
> (18 USCA 1542)

IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT ANY FALSE STATEMENTS OR ENTRIES GENERALLY MADE KNOWINGLY AND WILLFULLY TO ANY DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY OF THE UNITED STATES IS IN VIOLATION OF 18 USCA 1001.

I WOULD LIKE TO STATE AT THE OUTSET, PRIOR TO ANSWERING QUESTIONS, THAT WE DO NOT NEED EXPANDED FEDERAL POWERS TO SUSTAIN OUR NATION'S DEFENSES AGAINST FOREIGN INFLUENCE, NOR SHOULD WE ADVOCATE THE

REVOCATION OF OUR CITIZENS RIGHTS TO FREE SPEECH, PRIVACY, AND TRAVEL. OUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD SIMPLY AND STRAIGHTFORWARDLY ENFORCE THE LAWS CURRENTLY ON THE BOOKS. THROUGH THE ENFORCEMENT OF CURRENT LAWS, OUR NATION WILL BE IN THE POSITION OF KNOWING CLEARLY WHO IS AN ADVOCATE OF A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT, WHETHER THE ACTION OF AN INDIVIDUAL OR AN ORGANIZATION IS FUNDED BY A FOREIGN ENTITY, AND WHETHER AN INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANIZATION IS TRULY AIMING TO SUBVERT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. ONCE THESE QUESTIONS ARE ANSWERED OUR GOVERNMENT IS ALSO ENTRUSTED WITH ADEQUATE ENFORCEMENT MECHANISMS TO SUSTAIN THE SECURITY AND PEACE OF OUR NATION AND ITS CITIZENS.

IT IS CRYSTAL CLEAR THE ISSUES OF THIS HEARING ARE OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE WHEN A FOREIGN LEADER PLEDGES $1 BILLION TO A U.S. CITIZEN TO "MOBILIZE" AN EFFORT WITHIN THE UNITED STATES STATING, "TODAY WE HAVE FOUND A LOOPHOLE TO ENTER THE [U.S.] FORTRESS AND CONFRONT IT FROM WITHIN." IN RESPONSE ONE OF OUR OWN CITIZENS IS QUOTED AS SAYING, "I AM HAPPY WITH THE RESULTS OF THIS MEETING IN ORDER TO...PLAY A STRONG ROLE NOT ONLY IN THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS BUT ALSO IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY." IT BECOMES OUR RESPONSIBILITY AS CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY TO GUARANTEE THAT THE RIGHTS OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS ARE PROTECTED FROM GOVERNMENT INTRUSION, BUT IT IS ALSO OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO ENSURE THE LAWS OF OUR NATION ARE ENFORCED FAIRLY WITHOUT REGARD TO ANY CONSIDERATION OTHER THAN GUILT AND INNOCENCE. LET ME RESTATE THAT, OUR JUSTICE MUST BE BLIND TO EVERYTHING EXCEPT GUILT AND INNOCENCE.

Attempts by Rogue Regimes to Influence U.S. Policy

By Daniel Pipes

Editor, *Middle East Quarterly*

Testimony presented to the
Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights of the
House International Affairs Committee

March 19, 1996

Room 2172
Rayburn House Office Building

With your permission, I would like to address only the issue of activities by Middle Eastern rogue regimes, and not deal with North Korea or Cuba. To make up for this more narrow focus, I shall also deal with non-state movements, and not just regimes.

My testimony argues that the Middle Eastern rogues are trying to do far more than influence U.S. policy; rather, they seek to change the very nature of our government, so that it will itself be a rogue regime. Toward this end, they rely on a variety of means both illegal (terrorism, drug-trafficking, counterfeit currency) and political (proselytizing, sponsoring groups, creating networks of influence). I will also argue that while spectacular acts of terror receive the most attention, in the long-term these may prove to be less consequential than quiet efforts at political change.

Please do not let the rogues' overblown ambitions make you dismiss their efforts as meaninglessly quixotic, for these do deserve your careful consideration. In this regard, I should like to remind you that, in the second New York bombing plot, a Federal jury found Omar Abdel Rahman and his assistants guilty of seditious conspiracy -- in plain English, of planning to overthrow the government of the United States. However remote the sheikh may have been from achieving his goal, his followers had planned out a series of deadly attacks that, if not foiled, could have killed many New Yorkers. The topic at hand, in short, is serious business.

I shall assess rogue influence in the United States by addressing four topics: who the Middle Eastern rogues are; their attitudes toward the United States; and their illegal and political efforts to gain influence here. Finally, I will outline some policy recommendations.

The Middle Eastern Rogues

Rogue states and movements are those that severely oppress their own people and repeatedly engage in aggression against others. Some rogues, especially the fundamentalist Muslims among them, have grandiose visions of remaking society. Others, especially those run by strongmen, merely seek to hold on to personal or familial power.

Who are the rogues? Two years ago, Anthony Lake, President Clinton's national security advisor, identified five "backlash" states, three of them in the Middle East: the Islamic Republic of Iran, Saddam Husayn's Iraq, and Mu`ammar al-Qadhdhafi's Libya.[1] But Lake left off two other undoubted rogue states: Hafiz al-Asad's Syria and Hasan at-Turabi's Sudan. In addition, we should look at the Afghan and Yemeni governments as candidate members. And Yasir

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[1] Anthony Lake, "Confronting Backlash States, *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1994, p. 45. The other two are North Korea and Cuba.

Arafat's Palestinian Authority must also be kept on the watch list.[2]

In addition, the Middle East hosts many rogue movements and organizations. Some (the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Hizbullah, and Hamas) have achieved fame. Others are lesser known but no less deadly, including the Worker's Party of Kurdistan (PKK) and Islamic Jihad. A few organizations have been in existence for decades (the Palestinian Peoples' Party dates to the 1920s), others disappear after a single operation. Some groups now foment trouble only in their own countries but, were they to achieve power, would likely expand to a broader canvas: the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) and its affiliates in Algeria is one example of a group in waiting.

Rogue organizations frequently do the bidding of rogue regimes, binding the two further together. The Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) had real independence for decades after its founding in 1932, but now serves as an adjunct of the Syrian regime -- sometimes striking against Americans.[3] The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, headed by Ahmad Jibril, works variously for the Syrian, Iranian, and Libyan authorities.

Attitudes toward the United States

Without exception, all the rogues harbor strong antagonism to the government of the United States, which they see as a principle impediment to reaching their goals.

In rogue rhetoric, Americans are racist, crude, and aggressive. "They think the Arab nation is stupid," says Qadhdhafi, "they consider us simpleminded, consider us shepherds, stupid, ignorant."[4] Mohammad Javad Larjani, an Iranian official, describes the Europeans and ourselves as stuck in a primitive mire: "the West's political mentality has not grown beyond the medieval ages; Europe and America can only be described as the manifestations of barbarianism using modern weapons."[5]

Rogues often portray themselves as targeted by the United States. Khomeini insisted his country lived under an American siege: "The danger that America poses is so great that if you commit the smallest oversight, you will be destroyed. . . . America plans to destroy us, all of us."[6] But it's not just American weapons that threaten the rogues; it's also American culture, which they claim is destroying the Islamic identity. Thus, the secretary general of Hizbullah in Lebanon asserts that "We [Muslims] have almost forgotten our culture because of the West's brutal interference."[7] The leading Shi`i figure in Lebanon, Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, holds that the Crusades never ended, indeed, they "are now

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2 The Palestine Liberation Organization, in addition to its current toleration of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, it bears noting, has made no gesture of apology for its murder of U.S. nationals in years past, including the March 1973 assassination of two American diplomats in the Sudan, the June 1976 killing of two diplomats in Lebanon, and the October 1985 murder of Leon Klinghoffer aboard the *Achille Lauro*.

3 For example, May Ilyas Mansur, an SSNP member, set off a bomb on a TWA airliner in April 1986, killing four.

4 Libyan Television, 15 January 1992.

5 *Ettela at*, 13 May 1993.

6 Imam Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution* trans. Hamid Algar, (Berkeley, Calif.: Mizan Press, 1981), pp. 286, 306.

7 Hasan Nasrallah, *Der Spiegel*, 17 July 1995.

more ferocious and severe than before."[8]

In response, the rogues express vehement hostility toward the United States. For some, this means hating every American, as in the famous Iranian slogan "Death to America." Likewise, the blind New York sheikh calls the United States "the enemy of Islam."[9] Turabi agrees: "The enemy is America."[10] Nor is this merely an abstract political hatred; it's also a spiteful and intensely personal emotion. Ahmad Jibril announced his delight on hearing about the San Francisco earthquake in 1989, then added: "I don't know how I would have managed to take revenge on the United States, but it seems that God did it for me."[11]

For others, only the U.S. government is hateful, not the population at large. Fadlallah says that "We want to be enemies of the official West, not its people."[12] This difference in attitude has important implications: Those who hate America can only attack this country using violent or illegal means. Those who see Americans as redeemable can find allies from within, whom they can influence politically to carry out their programs. This is a key point, to be explored at length below.

Fearful and hating, the rogues proclaim unilateral war on the United States. Saddam headed the pack by actually engaging in the "mother of battles." Khomeini held that "Iran is a country effectively at war with America."[13] A branch of Turkey's fundamentalist party declared that "war has broken out between just Muslims and the West." When asked if the Muslim world is currently at war, Turabi replies, "Yes. Against its attackers, led by the imperialist powers -- chiefly the United States and Israel."[14]

But can these minor regimes and weak organizations really hope to take on the mighty United States, with its huge economy and unparalleled military force? Actually, the rogues are not impressed by American power. First, some of them see the United States as a country of misfits. Qadhdhafi notes with disdain that "Arabs, Indians, Koreans, Chinese, and any person who goes to that land and lives on it for ten years becomes American."[15] An Iraqi radio commentator describes Americans as "homeless wanderers and criminals fleeing the Old World."[16] Saddam Husayn stresses the impure, indeed mongrel, nature of the United States, portraying it as a country made up of "highway robbers, criminals, and unwanted people."[17]

Second, rogue leaders see the United States as a country that has lost its

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8 *Filastin al-Muslima*, September 1995.

9 Omar Abdel Rahman, *Khorasan* (Mashhad), 25 January 1996.

10 *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 August 1995.

11 *The Sunday Independent*, 26 November 1989. Jibril also claimed that "all the Third World countries were very delighted at the earthquake that hit San Francisco." Quoted in David Yallop, *To the Ends of the Earth: The Hunt for the Jackal* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1993), p. 465.

12 Quoted in Judith Miller, "Faces of Fundamentalism: Hassan al-Turabi and Muhammed Fadlallah," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1994, p. 132.

13 Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, p. 305.

14 *El Mundo* (Madrid), 24 July 1995.

15 Great Jamahiriya Radio, 25 October 1995.

16 Radio Baghdad, 9 February 1991.

17 *Al-Qadisiya*, 13 January 1991.

religious sense and with it the will to defend itself. Lacking a moral compass, Americans ignore important issues of faith and hanker after meaningless fads. `Ali Belhadj, an Algerian fundamentalist leader, laughs at Europeans for defending "animal rights in the manner of that tart Brigitte Bardot. They even defend vegetation rights like those of trees in public parks."[18] The rogues draw a caricature of Western self-indulgence and rot. "AIDS, drugs, venereal disease, alcohol and tobacco abuse," runs a typical statement, are "plagues of the modern western society."[19] Gluttony runs rampant: in the West, man is seen "as nothing but an animal whose major concern is to fill his belly."[20] Sex may be America's greatest weakness: Ayatollah Khomeini described the United States as "a brothel on a universal scale."[21] At times, fundamentalists portray our way of life as a form of disease. Kalim Siddiqui, Tehran's London-based apologist, deems Western civilization "not a civilization but a sickness.""[22] Belhadj ridicules Western civilization as "syphilization."[23]

Such a motley and depraved people cannot defend themselves; and so rogues welcome the chance to do combat with the United States. As they see it, the battle has two main dimensions, military and cultural. Militarily, `Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, the Iranian hard-liner, disdains the United States as "a hollow paper tiger with no power or strength."[24] Siddiqui explains that "American GIs clutching photos of their girl friends would be no match for the soldiers of Islam clutching copies of the Qur'an [Koran] and seeking *shahadah* [martyrdom]."[25] More audaciously, a Tehran newspaper asserts that "Islam has generated a strength in the Muslim nation more powerful than any atomic bomb."[26] For Saddam Husayn, America's brief history makes it weak: "a nation of migrants whose history is no more than two hundred years" would certainly lose in battle to an Iraqi nation "whose history began with the dawn of civilization."[27]

That Muslims defeated Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and thereby can claim a significant role in bringing down the Soviet bloc inspires some rogues to foresee a similar role for themselves against the United States.

Then there's the cultural dimension, which fundamentalists particularly stress. "It is a struggle of cultures," a Muslim Brethren leader explains, "not one between strong countries and weak countries. We are sure that the Islamic culture will triumph."[28] His certainty again derives from a sense of moral bankruptcy in the United States. "Western civilization . . . is the modern world's sick man,"

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18 Spoken on an audiotape and quoted in Emmanuel Sivan, "Eavesdropping on Radical Islam," *Middle East Quarterly*, March 1995, p. 17.

19 *Crescent International*, 16-30 September 1991.

20 `Adil Husayn, *Ash-Sha`b* (Cairo), 22 July 1994.

21 Quoted in Amir Taheri, *The Spirit of Allah: Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution* (Chevy Chase, Md.: Adler & Adler, 1986), p. 298.

22 *Tawhid*, Shawwal-Dhu'l-Hijjah 1412, pp. 154, 155.

23 Quoted in Sivan, "Eavesdropping," p. 17.

24 *Salam* (Tehran), 27 July 1994.

25 *Tawhid*, Shawwal-Dhu'l-Hijjah 1412, p. 152.

26 *Jomhuri-ye Islami*, 7 December 1992.

27 *Al-Qadisiya*, 13 January 1991. Saddam acted on this belief, not withdrawing his forces from Kuwait and so precipitating war with the United States a few days later.

28 *Ash-Sha`b*, 27 September 1994.

adds Siddiqui, "destined for oblivion . . . [with Islam] the antidote to a morally bankrupt world."[29] `Ali Hoseyni Khamene'i, the supreme Iranian leader, predicts that "the United States is doomed to destruction."[30] Or, in Turabi's more colorful phrasing, "The supremacy of the United States' Coca-Cola culture is coming to an end."[31]

Again, fundamentalists see the Soviet Union as the model for America's future. Mohammad Yazdi, head of the Iranian judiciary, believes in a "divine plan" that the "United States should fall apart just like the former Soviet Union."[32]

Exploiting these supposed military and cultural weaknesses, the rogues take active steps to transform the United States in their own image. Their activities divide into the illegal and the political.

Illegal Efforts

Terrorism harms Americans but so far has not achieved a great deal for the rogues. Hostage-taking has proved far more effective. Drug-trafficking and counterfeiting are still growing, and could one day do severe damage.

Terrorism. Middle Eastern rogues have carried out the great majority of foreign violence against Americans that has occurred since the end of the Vietnam War. The Syrian government has established the most deadly record, being complicit in the deaths of over four hundred Americans (241 in the 1983 bombing of a U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, 175 Americans out of the 270 dead in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am 103).

Some operations against Americans (the Marines barracks explosion, Pan Am 103, and the World Trade Center bombing of 1993) have dominated the headlines for days or weeks. Most other deadly incidents (the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Kuwait, the two bombings of the embassy in Beirut, and the many violent acts against American air passengers in the mid-1980s) have made a lesser impression, folding into a near-blur as one outrage pushes out the previous one.

Rogue networks on occasion reach into the United States itself. Two events stand out. In March 1989, a bomb went off in the family car of the captain of the U.S.S. *Vincennes*, the ship which eight months earlier had brought down an Iran Air passenger plane. In February 1993, a bomb in the basement of New York's World Trade Center killed six, injured hundreds, and disrupted transportation and communication networks throughout the country. Had the bomb gone off as intended, it would have brought down both towers, killing fifty thousand or more individuals.

We can only guess how many incidents have been foiled. In October 1987, three members of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party attempted to smuggle explosives from Canada into the United States; only because an alert policeman in a small Vermont town noticed something were the Syrian agents caught and

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29 Kalim Siddiqui at the opening of the "Muslim Parliament," 4 January 1992. Quoted in Philip Lewis, *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), p. 53.

30 Islamic Revolution News Agency, 17 December 1995.

31 *Der Spiegel*, 17 April 1995.

32 Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 13 October 1995.

sentenced to long jail terms. Similarly, the police arrested a well-armed Libyan agent on the New Jersey turnpike. And Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman's gang never managed to blow up the United Nations, the Holland tunnel, or other New York landmarks.

Over the years, rogue state assets in the United States have reached the point that they probably can attack targets at will. "The Iranian network in the U.S.," noted L. Carter Cornick, "is the most dangerous and troublesome of all the terror groups in the U.S."[33] Oliver Revell of the FBI informed Congress that several dozen members of Iran's Revolutionary Guards Corps had entered the United States by posing as students, and that American law lacked a mechanism by which to expel them. According to one report, SSNP members in Oregon, Chicago, and New York "have been armed with small submarine guns fitted with sound suppressors and have been training in their use."[34]

In the final analysis, however, these acts of violence had relatively little impact. Intensified passenger searches at airports and thick concrete slabs around the White House create a general fear of the Middle Eastern rogues, but policy has not been substantially affected.

Hostage-taking. In contrast, hostage-taking has had a great impact. Two incidents had particular importance. The keeping of 52 Americans at the U.S. embassy in Tehran for 444 days in 1979-81 provoked a crisis of confidence in the United States and probably contributed to Jimmy Carter's electoral loss in 1980. Groups affiliated with Syria and Iran abducted some twenty-five Americans in Lebanon between 1982 and 1992, prompting a near-paralysis in policy toward those two states and leading to the terrible mistakes made in the Iran/*contra* adventure, which seriously harmed the Reagan presidency.

Drug trafficking. Drugs in the United States come increasingly from the Middle East. Take heroin: with one-quarter of all heroin entering the United States coming from Lebanon and one-fifth from Afghanistan, the Middle East provides nearly a half of this country's imports.

In part, this growth results from the usual reasons -- corruption, lax controls, fortunes to be made. But another factor exists: the rogues see drugs as a way to debilitate the United States and try to weaken the country more by purveying drugs to it. This helps explain why Iran and Syria are two of the four states on the U.S. government drug trafficking list. And, in the Syrian case especially, officials appear to be actively involved in the production, refinement, and exporting of drugs. *The Jerusalem Post* explains how Minister of Defense Mustafa Tallas sells permits to grow drugs for about $1,000 to each of a thousand farmers. Then,

> A low-ranking Syrian army man controls each village. Groups of villages are controlled by officers with the rank of captain or major, while larger areas are overseen by lieutenant colonels or brigadier generals. The Syrian fee for growing opium on each dunam is $25-$50 a year, thus even a medium-sized village with 4,000 dunams means profits to the Syrians of $100,000 to

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33 *U.S. News & World Report*, March 6, 1989.

34 *Early Warning*, January 1984, p. 3.

$200,000 annually.[35]

Many official U.S. sources have cited official Syrian participation in the drug trade out of Lebanon. A 1989 Drug Enforcement Agency report estimated that Syrian official circles take in at least half of the $700 million to $1 billion in profits associated with Lebanon's drug trade. A 1991 House Republican Research Committee report notes that "the highest levels of the Syrian government are directly involved in the production, processing, and distribution of drugs throughout the West." A December 1992 report of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice not only points out the participation of top Syrian officials in trafficking drugs, but it names names at the highest levels of Syrian politics. The State Department's annual narcotics survey states for 1995 that "Credible reports to Syrian military protection for drug traffickers persisted in 1994, despite official claims to the contrary."[36]

Counterfeiting. It appears that the Iranian and Syrian governments have since 1993 produced and distributed some $2-3 billion worth of nearly perfect counterfeit U.S. $100 bills. The "Supernote" is wrecking minor havoc. Reports from Europe and East Asia tell that retailers and even bankers are shying away from $100 bills. Even in the United States, the Supernote fools the currency scanners at the Federal Reserve banks.

The counterfeiters' motives -- beyond making money -- are the subject of some speculation. A Senate staffer sees this as the way for Damascus to pay for a nuclear facility. Others see it as an attack on the U.S. financial system; indeed, according to Frederic Dannen and Ira Silverman, writing in *The New Yorker*, the problem has already reached such proportions that "it has begun to undermine confidence in United States currency."[37] Paul Kelly, the Federal prosecutor in Boston who dealt with the Supernote problem, thinks the goal might be nothing less than "to destabilize the economy of the United States."[38]

If so, counterfeiting would seem to fit into a larger pattern of economic warfare. For example, the February 1993 explosion at the World Trade Center appears to have been intended not just to kill people but to undermine the American economy. A Tehran newspaper portrayed this incident as proof that the U.S. economy "is exceptionally vulnerable." It wishfully concluded that the bombing "will have an adverse effect on Clinton's plans to rein in the economy."[39]

Political Efforts

Less noted, because less obviously aggressive, several of the rogues are trying to spread their political views to the United States. This means teaching Americans to celebrate the rogues and to hate their own government. While it might entail para-military training and helping prepare for terrorist operations, the

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35 Rafi Peled, *The Jerusalem Post*, 14 September 1991.

36 U.S. Department of State, *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995), pp. 441-42.

37 Frederic Dannen and Ira Silverman, "The Supernote," *The New Yorker*, 23 October 1995.

38 Quoted in ibid.

39 *Resalat*, 3 March 1993

key role here is ideological: developing anti-Americanism among Americans. Success in this endeavor would mean not altering a policy or subverting the currency but changing the country and harnessing it to the rogues' own purposes. This, clearly, is the ultimate prize.

Toward this end, the rogues[40] take several steps. They build a network of agents and allies within the United States. They dispatch rogue Middle Easterners to hotel ballrooms in New Jersey, Oklahoma, Michigan, and elsewhere, to instruct audiences of five thousand and more on the fine points of anti-Americanism.[41] They help build "elaborate political, financial and, in some cases, operational infrastructures."[42] Here are some particulars:

Qadhdhafi. Qadhdhafi came to power and during the next decade gave money to a startling range of personalities and institutions in an effort to influence in the United States: Jesse Jackson, Jimmy Carter's alcoholic brother Billy, Georgetown University, radical American Indian groups, the Black Panthers, and El Rukn, the notoriously violent Chicago street gang with a pseudo-Islamic character. But Qadhdhafi got little return for his money and eventually focused on the Nation of Islam, which has for years been Qadhdhafi's main access to American society. In 1985, for example, he gave the organization a $5 million "loan." In 1987, it laundered Libyan money to support anti-American demonstrations on college campuses. But this relationship has truly blossomed only during the past half year.

On each first of September, Qadhdhafi gives a major speech to commemorate his taking power; six months ago, he mentioned his readiness to donate "$100 million or even $1 billion" to the Nation of Islam to organize American Muslims and get them "to cast their votes to the candidate who serves the Arabs."[43] The Million Man March in October 1995 so impressed Qadhdhafi, he immediately called Farrakhan and told him (as Farrakhan quotes him), "Brother, the wealth of Libya, I will put [it] behind the Nation of Islam."[44] In December, Qadhdhafi further promised "unlimited" support to a Nation of Islam delegation.[45] In January 1996, during a visit to Libya, Farrakhan reminded Qadhdhafi of his promises[46] and won from him a promise of $1 billion to "mobilize the oppressed minorities" in the United States.[47] Hearing of this offer, the Justice and Treasury Departments wrote Farrakhan to inquire whether he had become an agent for Tripoli. This prompted the Libyans to backtrack and "unequivocally deny" any financial offer.[48] But Farrakhan insisted that he'd been

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40 And far more than the rogues, the government and citizens of Saudi Arabia. That country not being a rogue, its activities fall outside today's hearing, and so I will not discuss them. But it bears noting that money from Saudi Arabia supports virtually all of the anti-American institutions in the United States. Given the very strong U.S.-Saudi ties, this problem could be quite easily addressed.

41 For examples, see Steven Emerson's PBS documentary of November 1994, "Jihad in America."

42 Steven Emerson, "The Other Fundamentalists," *The New Republic*, 12 June 1995, p. 21. Emerson points to the vital role in these activities played by Palestinian, Algerian, Tunisian, Egyptian, Sudanese, Lebanese, and Jordanian fundamentalists.

43 Jamahiriya Arab News Agency, 16 December 1995.

44 "Savior's Day" speech in Chicago, as broadcast by C-SPAN, 25 February 1996.

45 Jamahiriya Arab News Agency, 16 December 1995.

46 *Final Call*, 6 March 1996.

47 Jamahiriya Arab News Agency, 27 January 1996.

48 Jamahiriya Arab News Agency, 1 February 1996.

promised "more than a billion. And I'm gonna accept it."[49]

Qadhdhafi has candidly acknowledged how the Nation of Islam serves his purposes: "Our confrontation with America was like a fight against a fortress from outside, and today we found a breach to enter into this fortress and confront it [from within]."[50]

Turabi. The Sudan lacks the resources of the other rogue states, but it does have Hasan at-Turabi, a brilliant and ambitious fundamentalist leader. Turabi has won the backing of Usama bin Ladin, a Saudi national with legendary funds and a radical agenda. When the Saudi Arabian government deprived Bin Ladin of his citizenship, he moved to the Sudan, where he bankrolled Turabi-approved causes in the United States: the innocuously-named United Association for Studies and Research, an organization associated with Hamas and other violent groups; the Dar al-Hijra, a Hamas-oriented mosque in Virginia; and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, the fundamentalist organization that (among other activities) publishes materials for making explosives.

Islamic Republic of Iran. While Qadhdhafi and Turabi have some supporters within the United States, the mullahs in Iran have the most developed ambitions in this regard. They see themselves not just as the rulers of a country but as the spearhead of an insurgent civilization destined to topple the existing order.

For Tehran, the spread of its radical and anti-American brand of Islam to the United States will eventually (in the words of an Iranian-sponsored radio station) "provoke a dangerous and crucial confrontation"[51] in this country. That in turn could lead to a basic reorientation of this country's politics. Commenting on the Million Man March, for example, a Tehran newspaper excitedly interpreted it as the "birth of a new power."[52] This dream explains why Iranian leaders exult when they hear their brand of anti-Americanism coming from within the United States. As a leading ayatollah boasts, "The cry of pan-Islamism has arisen everywhere in the world. Everywhere in the world, even in the heart of America, they tell you: `Death to America, death to Israel, death to the criminal.'"[53]

According to a classified FBI report, the Alavi Foundation of New York is "entirely controlled by the government of Iran."[54] The foundation has assets of about $100 million in the United States and has an annual income of $10-15 million. Tehran uses the foundation to fund a variety of anti-American causes, including the four Islamic Educational Centers it owns in New York, Maryland, Texas, and California. The second of these, located in Potomac (outside of Washington, D.C.) is headed by Mohammad al Asi, an American convert to Islam who during the Kuwait crisis called on Muslims to "Strike against American

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49 "Savior's Day" speech.

50 Reuters, 25 January 1996.

51 Sawt al-Mustazafin (Baalbak), 28 June 1992.

52 *Jomhuri-ye Islami*, 21 October 1995. A fundamentalist magazine published in Cairo went further, seeing in the march the "beginning of the end of the American empire" (*'Aqidati*, 24 October 1995).

53 Ayatollah Mohammad Emami-Kashani, Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 12 August 1994.

54 This and the following information about the Alavi Foundation derives from Kenneth R. Timmerman, "Islamic Iran's American Base," *The American Spectator*, December 1995, pp. 39-42 and from the Alavi Foundation's Tax Form 990-PF

interests" in the Middle East. Other mosques funded by the Alavi Foundation supplied personnel involved in the World Trade Center bombing.

In addition, some Iranian money appears to flow directly from Iran; an Arabic newspaper reported that the regime promised Farrakhan "huge financial aid" during his visit to Tehran last month;[55] in a letter earlier this month, Rep. Peter King informed Attorney General Janet Reno of his information from an "unimpeachable foreign diplomatic source" that Farrakhan had already received $5 million from Tehran.[56]

The Iranians have developed a network of Muslim organizations, publications, and spokesmen who make their arguments. The Muslim Arab Youth Association, based in Plainville, Indiana, has a "Constitution" which declares that, "In the heart of America, in the depths of corruption and ruin and moral deprivation, an elite of Muslim youth is holding fast to the teachings of Allah."[57] *Islam and Palestine*, a journal edited in Tampa, Florida, announced its full support for the Iranian call on Muslims to engage in *jihad* (holy war) "to banish the Great Satan."[58] A headline in the San Diego-based *Islam Report* relished the news of a U.S. Air Force accident: "O ALLAH, LOCK THEIR THROATS IN THEIR OWN TRAPS!."[59] Zaid Shakir, formerly the Muslim chaplain at Yale University, preaches on a commercially available videotape that Islam is precisely opposed to American values:

> As Muslims, we, whether we like it or not, whether we admit it or not, are the advocates of a system which is absolutist, and would be viewed . . . as extremist. And there is no compromising that. And the orientation of the Qur'an pushes us in the exact opposite direction as the forces that are at work in the American political spectrum.

Shakir goes on to state that Muslims cannot accept the legitimacy of the secular system in the United States: "this system is against the orders and ordainments of Allah."[60]

Other videotape authorities concur. Issa Smith, associate counsel for the American Muslim Council, rejects political participation in the United States: the "system of getting elected in this country is so clearly opposed to the Islamic way that I don't see any way of supporting this." Sheikh Zahirrudin Shafi, an activist, rejects any constitution "that does not recognize explicitly the authority and superiority of Allah and leadership of the Prophet. . . . We cannot compromise on the constitution of the United States. Let [the] U.S. constitution correct itself."[61]

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55 *Ash[illegible]rq al-Awsat*, 15 February 1996. This might include funds from the $18 million Tehran had already allocated to sup[illegible]t anti-American groups (retaliating for the $18 million the U.S. government is said to have earmarked for overthrowing the Iranian regime).

56 *Newsday*, 6 March 1996.

57 Quoted in Emerson, "The Other Fundamentalists," p. 22.

58 Quoted in ibid., p. 29.

59 Quoted in ibid., p. 30.

60 "The Role of Muslims in the American Political Process," a 1992 videotape distributed by the International Institute of Islamic Research, Burlington, New Jersey).

61 Smith and Shafi are on the same videotape as Shakir.

Abu Muhammad, an American convert to Islam, gave an interview to a Pakistan magazine in 1989 in which he told of his reasons for joining the *jihad* in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union and his intent to keep fighting even after the Soviet defeat: "it is the duty of all Muslims to complete the march of *jihad* until we reach America and liberate her. And I will be a guide for them."[62]

Also the Nation of Islam. When Louis Farrakhan is quoted saying that "God will destroy America at the hands of Muslims,"[63] he exactly expresses the Iranians' hopes. When he states his intent to "use American Muslim unity as a lever of pressure against the arrogant policies of the United States,"[64] he fulfills the Iranians' plans. Indeed, he and they so thoroughly agree, the two sometimes use the same wording. If Farrakhan asserts that "America lies on her deathbed,"[65] Iran's Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati holds that "The British today are on their death bed. Other Western countries too are in a similar state."[66]

An example: Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf. Rogue-inspired anti-Americanism has become increasingly prominent in American life, to the point that it last week reached the sports pages of newspapers across the country. Yes, the sports pages. They told the important story of Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf, a 27-year-old professional player in the National Basketball Association. Born a Baptist in Mississippi and a convert to Islam in 1991, Abdul-Rauf has, since the beginning of the current season, refused to follow the NBA rule that requires players to stand in a "dignified posture" as the American national anthem is played before each game. As a Muslim, he said, he could not pay this respect to the American flag, a "symbol of oppression, of tyranny." More than that, Abdul-Rauf argued that the flag is directly antithetical to his Islamic faith: "This country has a long history of that [i.e., oppression.] I don't think you can argue the facts. You can't be for God and for oppression. It's clear in the Qur'an. Islam is the only way."[67]

In response, the NBA suspended Abdul-Rauf and he missed one game. But then a combination of losing $31,707 per game missed and the unanimous disagreement of other Muslims led him to put politics aside and agree to stand for the anthem. But while doing so, Abdul-Rauf said he would "offer a prayer, my own prayer, for those who are suffering. Muslim. Caucasian. African-American. Asian."[68]

When an otherwise sensible young man earning $2.8 million a year talks like an ayatollah, something important is afoot. Though brief-lived, Abdul-Rauf's defiance is significant: it reveals how far the rot of anti-Americanism has traveled and it makes this outlook socially more acceptable. Abdul-Rauf was the first professional sports player ever punished for refusing to stand for the American national anthem; he is unlikely to be the last.

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62 *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus*, July 1989.

63 Reuters, 14 February 1996. Farrakhan later denied making this statement.

64 *The Washington Times*, 14 February 1996.

65 Louis Farrakhan, *A Torchlight for America* (Chicago: FCN Publishing, 1993).

66 Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 5 March 1993.

67 Associated Press 12 March 1996.

68 *The New York Times*, 15 March 1996.

Recommendations for U.S. Policy

Illegal efforts by the rogues to influence the United States raise one set of issues, political efforts raise others.

Illegal. Terrorism and the like raise familiar problems that require little discussion here. The United States has developed a basically sound foreign policy toward rogue states and groups: isolate them diplomatically, embargo them economically, and on occasion strike them militarily -- a tough approach that works in proportion to the willingness of other states to join in. Strong support from allies has permitted sanctions to neutralize Saddam Husayn, the world's most aggressive ruler: in contrast, their meager support has prevented sanctions on Iran and Libya from having much impact.

Only Syria (and to some extent the Palestinian Authority) has escaped this tough approach. Inviting Asad to join the "peacemakers" in Sharm el-Sheikh last week symbolizes the policy in place since 1984 of hoping to change Syrian policy through cooption. This strategy has not worked; the time has come for a tougher policy toward Damascus, one that relies at least as much on sticks as on carrots.

Political. Rogue-inspired violence and sabotage are a danger; but efforts to turn Americans against their own country constitute even more of a danger. These political efforts also raise novel and thorny issues. The Executive Branch has thought long and hard about overtly aggressive acts like terrorism; it is at a loss when confronted with visa applications from anti-American preachers. It enjoys a virtual free hand in foreign policy; in the political sphere it quickly bumps into constitutional and legal constraints.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, government at all levels should take the lead in combating rogue influence. In the first place, this means keeping a watchful eye out for unlawful activities: by their nature, rogues think little of legal niceties. The Iranian regime, for example, encourages Muslims in the West "to seek ways outside the law to guard their rights."[69] The Congress must insure that the intelligence and law enforcement agencies have the tools to do their job.

Second, politicians must use their bully pulpits to decry rogue states, not just by pointing out their criminal behavior but by attaching moral opprobrium to those who associate with them.

Third, the authorities in government-run institutions such as schools, the armed forces, and prisons need to combat rogue influences as soon as they surface.

Government, however, cannot do this job alone. Private institutions, not subject to the full range of First Amendment and other constraints, has a major role too. (The government, for example, could not have compelled Abdul-Rauf to stand for the anthem as the NBA did.) There's a role here for everyone -- business executives, union leaders, Hollywood producers, journalists, teachers, religious figures -- to argue against the rogues and to teach what it means to be an American. One might think it obvious that life in this country is immeasurably preferable to that in Iraq or Libya, but that's clearly not obvious to everyone. Those of us who understand this simple truth must explain it to our fellow-citizens.

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69 This statement was directed to Muslims living in the United Kingdom; Islamic Revolution News Agency, 8 July 1989. See also *Tehran Times*, 8 July 1989.

TESTIMONY OF

MICHAEL A. LEDEEN

BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS, COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, ON "ATTEMPTS BY ROGUE REGIMES TO INFLUENCE U.S. POLICY"

19 MARCH, 1996

I am grateful for the invitation to testify before the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights on the important subject of efforts of rogue regimes to influence American domestic and foreign policy. My credentials in this field are perhaps of some interest to the members. In the mid-seventies, I was Rome correspondent for The New Republic, and consequently spent a good deal of time covering the spread of terrorism in Western Europe, with particular emphasis on the activities of Libya, which was then embarked on a major campaign to influence Italian policy. I wrote at some length about the considerable financial investments by the Qadaffi regime in Italian industry, media and even restaurants and real estate, as well as the celebrated financial, logistic and military support given to Italian, European and Middle Eastern terrorists and self-proclaimed national liberation organizations, including the Red Brigades and the IRA. When I moved to Washington in 1977, I continued to write on the subject, as well as an investigative article in 1980, with Arnaud de Borchgrave, on the efforts of the Libyans to use President Carter's brother Billy to influence American policy. While Special Adviser to the Secretary of State in 1981-82, I worked on efforts to convince our NATO Allies to join with us in quarentining Libya, and I continued to follow these matters as a consultant to the Pentagon and the National Security Council through 1985. As a scholar of European affairs, I have been fascinated by the highly successful campaign by Saddam Hussein of Iraq to convince some of the most distinguished European intellectuals, journalists, politicians and businessmen, that he represented a "moderate and modern" leadership in the Middle East. And I have written extensively about the amazing support for the Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution both here and in Europe, as well as the armies of apologists for the preeminent rogue regime of our time, the Soviet Union. Recently I have expressed concern about the successful cooption of some American government officials and business leaders by the People's Republic of China. So my testimony today is not just a response to current events, but rather part of longstanding concern and interest, both in the phenomenon itself and the policy issues that grow out of it.

The Nature of the Problem

All foreign governments, friend and foe alike, and many foreign organizations, attempt to influence American policy to their own advantage. Depending on their resources and the history of relations between themselves and the United States, they can draw upon long-standing friendships, immigrant communities here, sympathetic Americans in politics, business, academia, media and sport, or paid advisers and lobbyists. We accept these activities as a legitimate part of our political debate, asking only that those who are paid to advocate the views of foreign entities honestly and openly acknowledge their working relationships, the better to understand their motives and evaluate their objectivity. For the most part, this is a political issue. We want to know the difference between a person who speaks out of genuine conviction, and a paid lobbyist (not that the two categories are totally distinct).

When we decide that foreign governments threaten the national security of the United States, we sometimes forbid Americans to accept payment from them for professional services, just as we sometimes forbid American corporations to do businesses with them, or forbid certain kinds of commerce, especially in areas that help build their military power. There are even some cases in which travel to such countries is forbidden. In these cases--the "rogue regimes" which interest this subcommittee today--Americans who advocate their causes may be prosecuted for violating criminal statutes. These cases are rare, and are generally handled effectively by those agencies of the Executive Branch charged with the enforcement of the laws. I shall accordingly devote my limited time today to the political issue.

I believe that the overwhelming majority of Americans are quite capable of distinguishing between friends and enemies of the United States, and will reject those who plead the cause of our enemies, provided that the facts are known. The Soviet Union mounted an enormous campaign of disinformation in this country, trying desperately to convince our political, business and intellectual elites that the USSR was a peaceloving society, and that we should treat it like any other "normal" nation. The Soviets succeeded in fooling many Americans, even to the point where some of their apologists argued that we, the United States, were the root cause of East-West conflict, but it was a very limited triumph. With rare exceptions (the case of the "neutron bomb" is exemplary), American public opinion remained hostile to the Soviet Union, and whenever the American Government presented the facts to the American people, the policy of containing Soviet power and influence got the support it deserved.

In like manner, the efforts of rogue regimes like Syria, Iran, Libya, Iraq and Sudan to achieve good relations with the United States have generally failed, because American political leaders and the American people know such countries are hostile to our values and our interests. To be sure, there have been moments of confusion, and rogue regimes have had some success in influencing our policies.

Efforts to Manipulate American Policy

In the late 1990s many American politicians, journalists and intellectuals, driven by revulsion at the human rights violations of the Shah's regime, and carried away by a long-standing romanticism about Third World "national liberation" movements, were convinced, or convinced themselves, that the fanatical Islamic fundamentalists around the Ayatollah Khomeini were more attractive than the Shah. Such people actively supported the bloody, reactionary revolution that came to power in 1979. Our Ambassador to the United Nations referred to Khomeini as "a religious man," and spokesmen for the State Department and the Intelligence Community insisted that Khomeini's own writings—replete with violent diatribes against Christianity, Judaism, and the core values of Western Civilization—were forgeries. This moment of delusion was actively supported by supporters of Khomeini, some of them paid, others, the vast majority, quite convinced of the rightness of their cause. The American Government convinced itself that we could work well with Khomeini's regime, and it was not until American diplomats were taken hostage that the terrible truth was finally manifest to all. The failure to recognize the true nature of Khomeniism led to a foreign policy debacle of enormous magnitude, and we are still paying for it today. Not only do the people of Iran suffer at the hands of a murderous and intolerant regime, but its venomous hatred of the West is directed against innocent victims both here—where opponents have been murdered on American streets—and in allied and friendly countries. Iranian-sponsored terrorism has taken many American lives, most recently in Israel, where Iran's friends and clients in Hamas have murdered scores of soldiers and civilians. But over the course of time, the facts have become known and the apologists and advocates of Khomeiniism have been discredited.

The other great supporter of Hamas--Syria—has had somewhat greater success, but this is more the consequence of Syria's strategic importance and power than of any American sympathy for the Assad regime. Syria quite properly remains on the list of terrorist sponsors. Nonetheless, it is disconcerting, to put it mildly, to see Syria invited to a world forum on antiterrorism, which, as I have written elsewhere, is rather like inviting Al Capone to an FBI planning session on antimafia policy. But Syria has very little following in the United States. One hears very few Americans suggest publicly that we should alter our policy and improve our relations with Syria. The invitation to Assad was made in tribute to his power. We know that there can be no meaningful Middle East peace settlement if Assad does not support it, and so our diplomats are striving mightily to find a way to bring him to the table.

When Iraq was strong, Saddam Hussein achieved a considerable following throughout the West. Some intellectuals and politicians convinced themselves that Saddam represented a secular alternative to the kind of rampant Islamic fundamentalism that swept Iran and threatened so mnay countries in North Africa, from Algeria and Tunisia to Egypt. For a a time, many argued that Iraq might prove to be a reliable and stable American ally, and during the Iran-Iraq war there was a very powerful Iraqi lobby in Washington, London, Bonn and Paris. This obviously all came to an end with the invasion of Kuwait.

Of the current crowd of rogue regimes, Libya has exerted the greatest effort to manipulate our policy. The Libyans spent a lot of money on Billy Carter in the last two years of the Carter Administration, but it does not seem to have paid off. Qadaffi has tried very hard for the past few years to improve its relationship with the United States, hiring distinguished Washington lawyers to attempt some kind of rapprochement, and inviting scores of academics and businessmen to meet with Libyan leaders in North Africa, trying to convince them that better relations are in the interests of both countries. I myself was invited to Cairo early in 1995 to meet with one of the ranking officials of the regime, and he spent half a day trying to convince me that Libya genuinely wanted a warmer relationship, and asked my advice for ways to achieve this. When I told him that his government must deal directly with the United States and Great Britain on the matter of Libyan responsibility for the murder of hundreds of passengers on Pan Am 103, there was no further dialogue. Nor have I seen any indication that Libyan efforts to recruit other supporters have met with great success, with the notable exception of the Reverend Louis Farrakhan.

Reverend Farrakhan has distinguished himself by embracing a number of the Arab rogue regimes. He has deplored our policy toward Iraq as "wicked" and "mass murder of the Iraqi people." He has apparently agreed to help Qadaffi achieve a better image in the United States, and he has embraced Khomeini's vision of an Islamic revolt against America, which he has characterized as "the Great Satan," Khomeini's favorite one-liner. He has been an apologist for the states of Sudan and Mauritania, countries that subject tens of thousand of black Africans to harsh chattel slavery. In so doing he has not only pleaded on behalf of enemies of the United States, but has attempted to legitimize regimes whose enslavement of Africans violates the most fundamental principles of human equality.

I do not believe that Reverend Farrakhan will have much of an effect on American policy, provided that our political leaders present the facts to the American people. That is one reason why hearings like these today are so important. However, I would be remiss if I did not say that it is discouraging that there are no Administration spokesmen here, as it was terribly disappointing to hear President Clinton, on the occasion of the Million Man March, call on the American people to focus not on the rhetorical excesses of the leader, but on "the faces of the people." This is a profound error, both because words are very important, and because the kind of zealousness that Farrakhan seeks to inspire has been terribly dangerous throughout human history. To take two recent examples, the Nazi faithful were certainly illuminated by spiritual uplift, and Hitler was able to lead them to acts of unprecedented savagery, and Khomeini's followers have certainly been inspired by deep faith in the rightness of their mission. The question is not one of conviction or hypocrisy, but rather good or evil. Farrakahan has embraced evil, and this must be exposed and condemned.

American Policy

There will always be Americans willing to embrace the causes of our enemies, either because of misplaced idealism, corruption for the sake of personal gain, or outright necessity (those who have families in the rogue nations can be threatened with reprisals against their relatives if they fail to obey). Thomas Jefferson laid down our proper response nearly two centuries ago. "If there be any among us who oppose this government or its Republican forms," he said, "let them stand undisturbed as a monument to that society where error of opinion may be tolerated, where the force of reason is left free to combat it."

The historical record suggests that we need not greatly fear the efforts of our enemies to manipulate our policies, so long as our leaders are brave enough to confront lies with the power of truth and reason. The greatest threat to our policies comes from leaders, in government and out, who permit themselves to be duped or intimidated, rationalizing their silence or active complicity with evil with misguided appeals to tactical reasons of state. Of these, the most dangerous is the longstanding delusion that one can lure our enemies into our embrace by giving them favored access to our markets, our wealth and our technological genius. The American people will not be converted to affection for Qadaffi, Assad, Saddam Hussein or Sudan's General Bashir, but there is an ongoing danger that leaders of the American Government will convince themselves, as they have so often in the past, that if we only enrich these people and their nations, they will moderate their behavior, and become fat and happy citizens of the civilized world. These policies will not make our fanatical enemies more moderate; they will only make our enemies more powerful. Today, rogue regimes in Libya, Iran, and North Korea are growing more powerful because this administration has dismantled our precious international system of export controls, and so the rogue regimes are now able to obtain murderous technology that would and should have been denied them in the past. Just as we at home must struggle relentlessly against the false images put forward by the apologists of evil foreign regimes, so our government must struggle to keep the evil regimes weak and isolated. The forces of reason will surely prevail in the domestic debate; there is nonetheless considerable danger that the forces of evil may yet prevail in many areas of the world.

THE CHALLENGE OF REVOLUTIONARY IRAN

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Prepared statement for the March 19, 1996 hearing before the
House Committee on International Relations
Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights

THE CHALLENGE OF REVOLUTIONARY IRAN

I would like to thank the members of the subcommittee for the opportunity to testify today. The recent Middle Eastern travels of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan have sparked considerable controversy. Several congressmen have called for a government investigation of the trip, including Representative Peter King, who gave a persuasive speech on this subject at the Heritage Foundation on March 6.

Today, I would like to focus on the foreign activities of Iran, which I believe poses the greatest threat to America and to American interests of all the countries that Minister Farrakhan visited.

The US and Iran have repeatedly clashed over a wide variety of issues since Iran's 1979 revolution, which brought to power radical Islamic fundamentalists led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Bilateral tensions initially flared due to November 4, 1979 seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran by Iranian militants and the subsequent holding of American hostages for 444 days. Iran-U.S. tensions continue to simmer due to Iran's persistent efforts to export its revolution, Iranian support for international terrorism, Iran's ideological hostility to the U.S., and Iran's military buildup, which includes clandestine efforts to acquire nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons of mass destruction.

Iran today looms as the chief threat to American interests in the Middle East. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the military defeat and diplomatic isolation of Iraq, Iran's traditional archrival, has given Iran the opportunity to expand its influence. Although Tehran has toned down its revolutionary rhetoric since the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989, Iran remains a volatile revolutionary state. Tehran continues to denounce the U.S. as "the Global Arrogance," calls for the expulsion of American influence from the Middle East, seeks to discredit and overthrow moderate Arab governments friendly to the U.S., advocates the destruction of Israel, and adamantly opposes the U.S.-sponsored Arab-Israeli peace negotiations.

Iran also has increased its financial, political, and military support for radical Islamic fundamentalist movements throughout the Middle East and Southwest Asia. It has developed close ties with Sudan, which it uses as a training ground for Islamic militants from throughout the region. In the short run Iran poses more of an ideological, subversive, and terrorist threat than a military threat to America and its Middle Eastern allies. In the long run, however, Iran's military buildup, particularly its development programs for nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile weaponry, will pose an increasingly grave challenge to the security of American forces and U.S. allies in the region.

IRAN'S HOSTILE FOREIGN POLICY

Since the 1979 Iranian revolution, Tehran has seen itself as the leader of the Muslim world. It has sought to export its revolutionary brand of Islam and to radicalize Muslims everywhere. The U.S., which Khomeini referred to as the "Great Satan," is hated for its support of the Iranian regime of Shah Reza

Pahlavi, for its support of Israel, which Iranian radicals seek to destroy, and for its support of moderate Arab regimes such as those in Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

But regardless of its policies, the U.S. is hated for its values and the powerful influence of its culture, which Iranian revolutionaries believe seduces Muslims and undermines Islam. This ideological motivation explains why Iranian-supported terrorists in Lebanon in the 1980s attacked targets affiliated with the American University of Beirut and Christian churches, in addition to the U.S. Marines serving in the multinational peacekeeping force.

Since 1979, Iran has been more of an ideological, subversive, and terrorist threat to its neighbors than a military threat. Tehran has enjoyed only limited success in fomenting revolution, in part because Iran's Shiite brand of Islam is shared by only about 15 percent of all Muslims. The Sunni (orthodox) Muslims who make up more than 80 percent of the Islamic world tend to be more respectful of state authority and distrustful of Shiite radicals.

Iran's greatest success has come in war-torn Lebanon, where it helped to create, finance, arm and train the radical Shiite Hezbollah (Party of God) movement. Several hundred Iranian Revolutionary Guards, the militant shock troops of the Iranian revolution, work closely in support of Hezbollah in Lebanon's Bekaa valley. Tehran also supports less powerful Shiite fundamentalist groups in Iraq, Bahrain, and Afghanistan. But Shiite revolutionaries have seized power nowhere outside Iran. In fact, Shiite rebellions have been crushed in Iraq (1991) and Saudi Arabia (1979), and an Iranian-backed coup attempt was quashed in Bahrain in 1981.

Iranian-supported Islamic revolutions, however, now have better prospects for success. The dissolution of the Soviet Union not only has opened up Central Asia to Iranian influence but has deprived secular Arab nationalist regimes in Algeria, Iraq, Libya, and Syria of a source of political, military, and economic support. The failure of Arab socialism in such countries as Algeria and Egypt has left them with feeble economies unable to absorb the huge number of youths who are entering the labor market. Faced with a bleak economic future, young Arabs are turning to radical fundamentalist movements to find hope and meaning in their lives. Some Arab fundamentalists, radicalized by the Islamic holy war (jihad) against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, have returned home to spearhead anti-government violence in their own countries. Iranian-supported Muslim fundamentalists are well-positioned to exploit the collapse of Soviet communism and Arab socialism.

Iran has established good working relations with several Sunni fundamentalist groups since 1990, including Hamas (the Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement), Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, the Islamic Group of Egypt, and similar groups in Algeria, Jordan, and Tunisia. The opening of Arab-Israeli peace talks at the Madrid Conference in October 1991 gave Iran and Palestinian fundamentalists a common interest in disrupting the U.S.-sponsored negotiations by escalating terrorist attacks against Israel. Iran invited a Hamas delegation to attend an October 1992 international conference held in Tehran to coordinate opposition to the peace process. Tehran subsequently agreed to help train Hamas terrorists, give Hamas $30 million over two years, and permit Hamas to open an "embassy" in Tehran. Israeli intelligence officials estimate that Iran now provides 10 to 20 percent of the roughly $70 million dollars in donations that Hamas annually receives from its supporters around the world.

Tehran has welcomed the terrorist offensive which Hamas launched against Israel in the last month, killing 62 people in four suicide bombings. The state-run Iranian news service called the bombings "God's retribution". Despite the worldwide revulsion triggered by the bombings, Iran remains one of Hamas' foremost foreign backers.

Iran's efforts to reach out to Sunni fundamentalists have been facilitated by Iran's closest ally, Sudan, which is ruled by the only radical fundamentalist regime in the Arab world. Arab officials maintain that Sudan has helped Iran establish ties with Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Jordan, the Renaissance fundamentalist movement in Tunisia, and the Armed Islamic Group in Algeria.

IRAN'S LINKS TO SUDAN

Iran has become the chief supporter and ally of Sudan's National Islamic Front, a Sunni fundamentalist movement that came to power following Lt. General Omar Hassan Bashir's 1989 coup. Sudan, Africa's largest state, offers Iran a strategic foothold to outflank Saudi Arabia and extend its revolutionary influence throughout North Africa and the Horn of Africa. Iranian-Sudanese cooperation escalated following President Rafsanjani's December 1991 visit to Sudan. Hundreds of Iranian military advisers and Revolutionary Guards were dispatched to Sudan to help train the Sudanese Army and internal security forces. Iranians also are believed to be assisting Sudan's radical regime in its long-running war against Christian and animist rebels in southern Sudan.

Although Iran claims that most of these personnel in Sudan are engaged in construction projects, persistent reports indicate that the Revolutionary Guards are training Islamic fundamentalist revolutionaries and terrorists, primarily from Algeria, Egypt, and Tunisia. U.S. officials maintain that Iranians train terrorists in five camps around Khartoum that are equipped and financed by Iran. The Egyptian government contends that several thousand Egyptian fundamentalists have received training from Iranians in Sudanese camps. Egyptian intelligence officials claim to have evidence that Iran was responsible for training and organizing terrorists who have attacked foreign tourists in Egypt. Algeria expelled Iranian diplomats in November 1992 and broke diplomatic relations with Iran in March 1993 after accusing Tehran of supporting Islamic radicals that have waged a bloody guerrilla war against Algeria's military regime, which has resulted in the deaths of over 30,000 Algerians since 1991

Sudan has become in effect a "new Lebanon" where Iranian revolutionaries arm, train, and equip Arab fundamentalists for political violence while denying responsibility for their actions. Significantly, Iran's former ambassador to Sudan, Majid Kamal, helped create Hezbollah when he was the Iranian chargé d'affaires in Beirut in the early 1980s. But unlike Lebanon, where Iran's freedom of action is constrained by Syria's military domination, the fundamentalist Sudanese government fully shares Iran's revolutionary goals.

Sudan also is a valuable ally for Iran because of its key role in helping Iran to expand its contacts with Sunni fundamentalists, especially Egyptian and Palestinian groups opposed to peace negotiations with Israel. Iranian-supported Egyptian fundamentalists easily can infiltrate the porous Sudanese-Egyptian border, seeking to overthrow the Egyptian government. The Islamic Group, which considers

Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman to be its spiritual leader, has launched terrorist attacks that have killed hundreds of Egyptians since early 1992.

Egypt is one of Iran's most important targets for subversion because of its historic role as the preeminent Arab power. An Islamic revolution in Egypt would send shock waves throughout the Arab world and incite Islamic revolution elsewhere. Moreover, a radical fundamentalist Egypt would break its peace treaty with Israel and render moot the U.S.-backed Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, which Iran has denounced as "treason." As the leading Muslim power unequivocally opposed to Israel's existence, Iran stands to gain much from prolonging the Arab-Israeli conflict.

IRAN'S SUPPORT OF TERRORISM

Iran is the world's "most active state sponsor of international terrorism and continues to be directly involved in planning and executing terrorist acts", according to the State Department's most recent report on terrorism, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1994, which was published in April 1995. Iranian intelligence agencies support terrorism, either directly or through extremist groups, primarily aimed against Iranian opposition movements, Israel, or moderate Arab regimes. Tehran has established over 20 ideological and military training camps in Iran, Lebanon, and Sudan staffed by Arabic-speaking Revolutionary Guards.

Hezbollah, Iran's most important surrogate, has become the "world's principal international terrorist organization" according to CIA Director Woolsey, testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 28, 1993. The Lebanon-based organization has established groups of supporters as far away as Australia, Canada, India, Indonesia, and South America. Hezbollah's long list of terrorist atrocities include the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks at Beirut Airport, and the kidnapping of most of the fifteen American hostages held in Lebanon between 1984 and 1991.

The last American hostages held in Lebanon were released by Hezbollah at Iran's direction in late 1991, after Tehran concluded that it could gain nothing from holding the hostages any longer. Iran's use of terrorism as an instrument of policy remains undiminished, however. In recent years, Tehran has stepped up its terrorist attacks against Iranian exile leaders and Israel. More than a dozen Iranian dissidents have been assassinated in European cities since 1987, including the August 1991 murder of former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpour Bakhtiar in Paris and the September 1992 murders of four Kurdish opposition leaders in Berlin.

Iran's terrorist campaign against exiled opposition activists appears to be growing in intensity in recent months. On February 20, 1996 two Iranian exiles were assassinated in Turkey. On March 2, two Sunni Iranian clerics were assassinated in Pakistan. And on March 7 another Iranian opposition activist was assassinated in Baghdad, the sixth killed inside Iraq since May 1995.

Iran's assassins also have struck inside the United States. Iranian political activist Ali A. Tabatabai, the founder of the Iran Freedom Foundation, was murdered at his home in Bethesda, Maryland on July 22, 1980.

Although Iranians recently have not been caught launching terrorist attacks on American targets, Iran furnishes substantial financial, logistical, and training support to terrorist groups that continue to target Americans. Tehran provided financial support, at minimum, for some of the Islamic militants arrested for the February 1993 bombing that killed 6 people at the World Trade Center in New York. Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, the radical Egyptian cleric who inspired and guided the bombers, long has been funded by Iran's intelligence service, according to Vincent Cannistraro, former head of CIA counterterrorism operations. Sheik Omar reportedly was regularly given large sums of money by Iran's delegation to the United Nations.

Although no direct Iranian participation has been established in the World Trade Center bombing, senior U.S. officials warned in March 1993 that Iranian-backed terrorist groups appeared to be becoming more aggressive. Iran also reportedly has begun cooperating with non-fundamentalist terrorist groups such as the Abu Nidal Organization, a renegade Palestinian terrorist group that has launched some of the bloodiest and most indiscriminate terrorist attacks, such as the December 1985 massacres at the Rome and Vienna airports. Iran also financially supports the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), a pro-Syrian group which it reportedly asked in 1988 to bomb a U.S. airliner in retaliation for the July 1988 accidental downing of an Iranian airliner by the *U.S.S. Vincennes*. The plot was disrupted by the arrest of a terrorist cell in Germany in October 1988. Libyan agents reportedly then bombed Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland in December 1988.

Iranian-supported terrorists have been particularly active against targets in Turkey. The Turkish Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility in 1992 for the murder of an Israeli diplomat and the bombing of an Istanbul synagogue. It also is believed to be responsible for a series of murders of Turkish journalists. Iran also supports the Marxist Kurdish Workers' Party, which has waged a long-running terrorist war against the government in eastern Turkey.

But in recent years it has been Israel that has been the prime foreign target of Iran's terror campaign. Iran was involved in the March 1992 bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires which killed 29 people. In March 1994, three Iranian agents were arrested in Thailand after an abortive attempt to detonate a truck bomb at the Israeli Embassy in Bangkok. Iranian involvement is also suspected in the July 1994 bombing of a Jewish community center in Buenos Aires that killed 96 people. Iran continues to support Hezbollah's terrorist offensive against Israeli forces along the Lebanese-Israeli border, as well as the terrorist operations of Hamas inside Israel.

Under Iranian tutelage, Sudan has emerged as a leading sponsor of international terrorism. Sudan has given sanctuary to a wide spectrum of terrorist groups, including many Arab militants who participated in the fundamentalist jihad in Afghanistan. Sudan gave Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman sanctuary before he moved to New York. Two Sudanese diplomats were implicated in the aborted plot by eight of the Sheik's followers to bomb the United Nations headquarters in New York. Moreover, five of the eight suspected terrorists arrested for the plot in June 1993 were Sudanese. Sudan's escalating involvement in international terrorism led Washington in August 1993 to add Sudan to the State Department's list of states that sponsor terrorism, which also has included Iran since 1984. This prohibits the transfer of U.S.

military equipment, militarily useful civilian technology, and foreign aid to the terrorist state, strips it of favorable trade privileges, and requires the U.S. to block loans by international financial institutions.

IRAN'S MILITARY BUILDUP

Iran currently poses only a limited conventional military threat to its neighbors. Since the 1979 revolution, its armed forces have been weakened by political purges, huge losses of up to 60 percent of its major weapons systems in its eight-year war with Iraq, and shortages of spare parts for U.S. and Western arms supplied before 1979. But President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani has accorded a high priority to building Iran's military strength. Shortly after coming to power in July 1989, Rafsanjani traveled to Moscow to sign a $1.9 billion arms deal that included 48 modern MiG-29 *Fulcrum* fighters and 100 T-72 tanks. His government, in January 1990, allocated $2 billion per year for five years to buy advanced arms.

Iran's ambitious military plans have sparked considerable concern that Tehran seeks to establish regional hegemony by building its military capabilities far beyond its legitimate defense needs. Iran's long-term objective reportedly is to acquire a modern air force of roughly 300 advanced combat aircraft; a modern army with 5,000 to 6,000 tanks, 2,000 self-propelled artillery pieces, and thousands of armored personnel carriers; and a navy upgraded with 3 advanced Russian *Kilo*-class submarines and scores of fast patrol boats armed with missiles.

Iran also has purchased hundreds of ballistic missiles and the technology to produce them from North Korea and China. Tehran has acquired at least 300 SCUD-B surface-to-surface missiles with a range of approximately 185 miles, and an unknown number of improved SCUD-Cs, which have a range of approximately 370 miles. These missiles enable Iran to attack states across the Persian Gulf. Iran also reportedly has agreed to buy 150 North Korean Nodong 1 missiles with an estimated range of over 600 miles. These surface-to-surface missiles are capable of delivering conventional, chemical, or nuclear warheads on targets as far away as Israel.

Iran's missile buildup is especially worrisome given Tehran's determined efforts to build weapons of mass destruction. Iran has "the most active chemical warfare program" in the Third World, according to an anonymous U.S. government official quoted in the Washington Post on March 8, 1996. The CIA estimates that Iran has produced and stockpiled up to 2,000 tons of chemical warfare agents, which it used at least once during the Iran-Iraq war. Iran also has an active biological warfare program and is trying to buy biological agents from Europe that could be useful in developing such weapons, according to U.S. intelligence sources. Some U.S. experts believe that Iran already may have produced biological weapons in the form of toxins or anthrax.

But the West's chief worry is Iran's effort to develop nuclear weapons, which has been making steady progress under the cover of Iran's civilian nuclear power program. CIA Director John Deutch stated in November 1995 that Iran could produce a nuclear weapon in as little as four years if it received extensive foreign assistance. American intelligence analysts have reported that Iranian acquisition teams

have shopped for weapons-related nuclear equipment and nuclear scientists in the former Soviet Union, concentrating on Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Ukraine.

In conclusion, although Iran presently poses primarily an ideological, subversive, and terrorist threat to American interests in the Middle East and the Muslim world, in the long run Iran will pose an increasingly grave military threat to the security of the U.S., American military forces in the Middle East, and American allies in the region.

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Statement of Congressman Bill Martini
before the
Subcommittee on International Operations
and Human Rights

Louis Farrakhan's Terror Tour
March 19, 1996

Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the subcommittee for allowing me this opportunity to speak in strong support of these efforts to learn the truth about the foreign travels of Louis Farrakhan, the controversial leader of the Nation of Islam.

I would also like to thank Reps. Peter King and Tom Lantos for showing courage in pursuing this matter. As I understand, both Reps. King and Lantos have received several death threats, demanding a stop the investigation of Farrakhan be stopped. Their quest for the truth is to be commended.

This issue has severe implications on all levels. What message are we sending to the American people when the Federal government allows a known hate-monger and anti-semite to freely travel to terrorist nations and openly meet with dictators to solicit foreign moneys?

The travels of Mr. Farrakhan were illegal - this is not negotiable. His actions raise serious national security implications. The effort of any terrorist nation to gain influence within the United States must be addressed, and as a facilitator of this effort, Louis Farrakhan acts as a foreign agent breaking clear U.S. foreign policy in dealing with these rogue regimes.

Furthermore, given Louis Farrakhan's consistent message of racism and strong anti-semitism, it becomes even more important that we take a stand against his blatant disregard for American laws.

In the past, Mr. Farrakhan has vocally denounced certain segments of our American population. He is a sworn enemy of the Jewish community.

What are the implications if this man is allowed to act as a conduit for anti-semitic, anti-American seed money to bring about the same violence which has most recently besieged Israel?

The United States has an obligation to protect all of its citizens. It is outrageous tha - the State Department and Clinton Administration have turned a blind eye to this matter.

Through his silence, President Clinton has permitted Farrakhan's activities for fear of political backlash from the Nation of Islam and other extremist groups.

Mr. Chairman, hatred is an ugly conviction. Yet, when highly financed by like-minded foreign interests it becomes a powerful instrument to bring about violence.

I implore this committee to continue its efforts to investigate this matter thoroughly and bring its findings to light for the American people. At a time when our nation is desperately trying to come together. we can not allow divisive foreign influences to tear us down. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights

FROM: Grover Joseph Rees, Staff Director and Chief Counsel

SUBJECT: Submissions for 3/19/96 Hearing Record

DATE: August 5, 1996

The subcommittee received the attached letter, dated March 20, 1996, from representatives of the Nation of Islam, in connection with the subcommittee's March 19, 1996 hearing on "Attempts by Rogue Regimes to Influence U.S. Policy." The letter, which is addressed to Chairman Smith for inclusion in the record, states: "In as much as you had agreed that we could testify at the hearing, and then summarily denied us that right, we hereby submit this response."

The only witnesses invited by the subcommittee were those who testified at the hearing, as well as the Administration. Page 28 of the hearing transcript reflects that, in response to an audience interruption, Chairman Smith stated:

> I have asked everyone here to show respect for the witnesses. The rules of this subcommittee, the full committee, and the House of Representatives are that audience participation is not allowed. These gentlemen are witnesses. I will keep the hearing record open at the end. If you would like to make a submission, we will be more than happy to let you do it.

By offering to keep the hearing record "open at the end," Chairman Smith did not offer to open the floor at the end of the hearing, but allowed the submission of written statements for possible inclusion in the printed record, which is otherwise prohibited by Rule 8 of the Rules of the Committee on International Relations.

The Nation of Islam

In the Name of Allah

7351 S. Stony Island Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60649
(312) 324-6000

March 20, 1996

Representative Christopher H. Smith
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Operations
and Human Rights
2370 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Smith:

In as much as you had agreed that we could testify at the hearing, and then summarily denied us the right, we hereby submit this response. We hereby request that this response be part of the record of the March 19, 1996, proceedings of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, subject "Attempts by Rogue Regimes to Influence U. S. Policy."

Once again, the political apparatus of the United States of America was used immorally and possibly illegally to attack the character, good name, and reputation of the Nation of Islam in general and the Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan in particular. The hearing was obscene and grotesque, and showed no resemblance to, nor respect for, the concept of due process. In fact, sir, we believe that the hearing was in direct violation of the oath taken by every Congressman to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States of America.

It was also apparent that you and other Republicans intend to use Minister Louis Farrakhan as a political weapon in your efforts to defeat President Bill Clinton in November. It is apparent that you wish the Clinton administration to unjustly attack Minister Louis Farrakhan, causing a political backlash or a negative response from the millions of Black voters in this nation that you assume to be Democrats. Would your attacks be so venomous if those who attended the Million Man March and the Millions who supported it were registered Republicans? We both know the answer to this question, and so do the American people.

During the World Friendship Tour, we observed Americans--including missionaries and businessmen--in many of the countries we visited. We saw Americans in countries you call "rogue nations." These citizens, by and large, are white and apparently enjoy greater freedom than Blacks who travel. Why is there no concern for the presence of these persons and their activities in these so-called "rogue nations"?

Minister Louis Farrakhan has said that the leaders of the countries that he visited did not hate the American people, but were opposed to the unjust foreign policies that ill-affect their nations and sovereignty. Minister Louis Farrakhan is not the only American citizen to express his views and disagreement with American foreign policy. The Minister's disagreement and advice to America is not for her destruction; on the contrary, such advice should be viewed as a sincere effort to aid this nation in its moral responsibility to establish peace and good will on earth.

Historically, the American political leadership has not taken kindly to moral voices and their warnings. This was particularly true during the Vietnam War, the invasion of Panama, the intervention into Somalia's civil strife, etc.--in each case the moral voice of disagreement was considered an unwelcomed interference in American foreign policy. And now years later, evidence suggests that these past actions were examples of misguided foreign policy which caused the loss of American lives and millions of taxpayer dollars.

Many of you do not like the Nation of Islam and its leader, Minister Louis Farrakhan; and you do not like that we seek to express our right of freedom of speech and freedom of association. Through propaganda, you seek to make your attacks on Minister Louis Farrakhan acceptable to the American people in general and Black people in particular. This wicked propaganda is not a new practice. You should know that the world is watching America to see if a nation that encourages human rights and democracy around the globe grants the same to its own citizens.

Our legal counsel advised us that your hearing, conducted March 19, 1996, by the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, was a violation of your March 14, 1996, statement that "[i]t is not a hearing about any particular individual, and no such hearing has ever been scheduled." The subject matter of the hearing was in fact consistent with Vice-Chairman Peter King's Congressional announcements.

Finally, we urge that no resolution be offered to Congress concerning Minister Farrakhan's World Friendship Tour, unless Minister Louis Farrakhan or his representatives are allowed to give testimony in defense of the purpose of his travel. The Million Man March spirit of Atonement, Reconciliation, and Responsibility was successfully introduced to the 16 countries visited; and most, if not all, have agreed to

participate in a World Day of Atonement. This is good news for us and the American people--many of whom continue to show keen interest in the establishment of world peace, based on principles of justice and fair play.

We applaud those lawmakers who refuse to allow the American political system to be used in an improper manner ignoring the Constitution, and their commitment toward justice for all regardless to religion, race, creed, color, or ideology.

Leonard F. Muhammad
Chief of Staff to the Honorable
Minister Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam

Abdul Arif Muhammad
General Counsel, Nation of Islam

Attachments: (4)

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VICTOR O. FRAZER, Virgin Islands, Ind.

MICHAEL H. VAN DUSEN
Democratic Chief of Staff

One Hundred Fourth Congress

Congress of the United States

Committee on International Relations

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

March 14, 1996

Statement of Representatives Gilman, Smith, and King

On Tuesday, March 19, the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights will hold a hearing on the topic, "Attempts by Rogue Regimes to Influence United States Policy."

The witnesses who have been invited to testify at this hearing include present and former U.S. government officials as well as academic experts on terrorism and on countries that have engaged in terrorism.

This hearing is about the legal and policy implications of attempts by rogue regimes --- countries that promote terrorism and similar activities that put them outside the community of civilized nations --- to influence United States policy. It is **not** a hearing about any particular individual, and no such hearing has ever been scheduled.

Although any particular instance of an attempt or alleged attempt by a foreign power to influence United States policy may be a legitimate subject for inquiry at the hearing, the Committee has not invited witnesses from organizations designed to promote or oppose any particular political agenda.

BENJAMIN A. GILMAN
Chairman

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights

PETER T. KING, Vice Chairman
Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights

20 March 1996

Robert F. DeFrank
P.O. Box 363
College Park, MD 20741

Honorable Christopher H. Smith
Chair, International Operations and Human Rights Subcommittee
U.S. House of Representatives
2401A Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

RE: SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS INVESTIGATING LOUIS FARRAKHAN (3/19/96)

Honorable Members of Congress,

Please incorporate the following written comments into yesterday's Subcommittee hearing records;

Make no mistake, the Subcommittee hearings of March 19 into Louis Farrakhan's condemnable visits with Libya's Ghadafi and other rogue states were not overlooked by those most tormented by their mischief; the Victims of Pan Am Flight 103. Despite orchestrated attempts by Nation of Islam (NOI) fascists to pack the hearing rooms and disrupt the proceedings within, victims of terrorism listened attentively from without or through press accounts. Yet sadly, while Farrakhan's bullies intimidated hallway spectators, House police offered deaf ears and dumb stares.

Recounting NOI's antics within chambers is unnecessary; the House record speaks for itself. However, the Subcommittee should know that outside of chambers, other NOI belligerences were countenanced by an overwhelmed House police force. Witness the enclosed photograph from today's front page of *The Washington Times*.

After waiting in line for two hours, NOI agents effectively impeded my orderly entry to the hearing chambers. Several NOI thugs surrounded me in the hallway and badgered me with demands that I move back to permit others closer access to House chambers. Failing to compel my compliance, they brazenly disregarded House police and ushered NOI members past me to the packed hallway at the hearing room entrance.

Fascist tactics may be expected from the NOI; but in no case, should House police have tolerated their maneuverings. If Subcommittee members - and the television audience - wondered where audience support for these hearings went, ask House police. Simple enforcement of the Life Safety Code to maintain egress could have curbed NOI's stacking of the assembly. Shamefully, no one with House police stepped forward with the will to intervene.

This sort of apathetic assent by authorities - allowing mind and body to go limp while scoundrels have their way - farcically illustrates what so often transpires when government confronts terrorists and their state-sponsors; cool indignation with little to validate the outrage. So, while the Subcommittee is to be applauded for sponsoring a House Resolution condemning Farrakhan's provocations, such criticisms are about as effective as President Clinton's less-than-startling denunciations last week in Sharm-el-Sheik. Indeed, terrorists and their state-sponsors will feed off the publicity it affords.

These subcommittee investigations must yield more than the circus of publicity so coveted by the infamous. They must arouse the determination among Justice, State and Treasury officials to secure indictment and conviction of Farrakhan for violations of U.S. law. The Administration knows well what grounds exist for indictments.

Farrakhan and Ghadafi have a long history of collaboration. The Subcommittee should not limit it's investigations to merely what Farrakhan was discussing with Ghadafi last month, but also what they were discussing together in Tripoli in May 1984 with Ahmed Jabril, whom many still allege subcontracted the Pan Am bombing to the indicted Libyans. Such historical backdrops will provide insight into the motivations inspiring Farrakhan's subversive opposition to the Federal indictments brought against Ghadafi's agents, Al-Magrahi and Fhimah.

The day no one dares enough, nor cares enough, to call men like Ghadafi and Farrakhan what they are - complicitous to murder - is the day democratic societies will truly have something to fear from state-sponsors of terrorism. Of course, if mere condemnation of the depraved was sufficient here on earth, then God would be out of a job.

["*Woe unto them that call good evil, and evil good.*" Is. 5:20]

Respectfully submitted,

Robert F. DeFrank, Member
Victims of Pan Am Flight 103

cc: George H. Williams, President VPAF 103
The Washington Times Editorial staff

Enclosure: Photo clipping - *The Washington Times* 3/20/96, p. 1

FARRAKHAN TRIPS ATTACKED ON HILL

Photo by Cathaleen Curtiss The Washington Times

Members of the Nation of Islam block a hallway in a House building where a subcommittee examined Mideast travels by leader Louis Farrakhan. The controversial minister was not invited to testify. Story, A4.

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March 19, 1996

The Honorable Chris Smith
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Smith:

On behalf of the members of the National Jewish Coalition, we would like to thank you for holding today's hearing to discuss the "Attempts by Rogue Regimes to Influence U.S. Policy." This is an extremely important issue which, in light of Minister Louis Farrakhan's recent financial agreement with Libyan dictator Moammar Gadhafi, must be addressed.

The threat posed by rogue nations has become more serious than ever before. With this increasing danger, comes new responsibilities. The National Jewish Coalition strongly believes that our government must enforce the laws that have been instituted to protect our national security interests against the threats of any foreign regime that seeks to subvert our political system.

For this reason, the National Jewish Coalition believes that Louis Farrakhan's financial agreement with Libyan dictator Moammar Gadhafi must be further investigated to ensure that there has not been a violation of any U.S. law.

The Nation of Islam, under the leadership of Louis Farrakhan, has a long history of promoting anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and anti-American beliefs. Louis Farrakhan's recent "World Friendship Tour of Africa and the Middle East" which included stops in Libya, Sudan, Iran and Iraq, was no different. Throughout his travels, Minister Farrakhan spoke of "the honor of bringing down the U.S." (Reuter, February 14, 1996) and sought friendship with rogue regimes whose brutal dictators have supported some of the most gruesome acts of international terrorism.

Of further concern are Moammar Gadhafi's statements as to his motivation in forming an alliance with Minister Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam. Gadhafi was quoted as saying, after his meeting with Louis Farrakhan, that, "our confrontation with America was like a fight against a fortress from outside, and today we found a breach to enter into this fortress and confront it" (Reuter, January 25, 1996).

Minister Farrakhan is a U.S. citizen and is bound by certain laws and regulations. In light of Minister Farrakhan's public statements, the National Jewish Coalition believes that the Administration must further investigate his recent activities to ensure that there has been no violation of U.S. law. Louis Farrakhan, like every other American citizen, must obey the laws that govern our nation. No American citizen should be allowed to act in a manner that seeks to compromise or exploit our national security interests.

Again, we thank you for your attention to this important issue.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Halpern
National Chairman

Matthew Brooks
Executive Director

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

WASHINGTON NATIONAL OFFICE
Laura W. Murphy
Director

122 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington, D.C. 20002

(202) 544-1681 Fax (202) 546-0738

STATEMENT

OF

JEANNE WOODS
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF LAW
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, NEW ORLEANS
ON BEHALF OF THE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
WASHINGTON NATIONAL OFFICE

ON

THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL AND CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT POLICIES WHILE ABROAD

BEFORE

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

April 1, 1996

Nadine Strossen *President* Ira Glasser *Executive Director* Kenneth B. Clark *Chair, National Advisory Council* Richard Zacks *Treasurer*
National Headquarters 132 West 43rd Street New York N.Y. 10036 (212) 944-9800

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

I appreciate the opportunity to submit testimony to the House Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) about constitutional implications of the U.S. travel restrictions as they apply to a recent trip to Libya and other nations by Louis Farrakhan. The ACLU is a nationwide, non-partisan organization of more than 275,000 members devoted to protecting the principles set forth in the Bill of Rights. By submitting this testimony the ACLU is not defending political views of Mr. Farrakhan. Rather we are defending his right, as well as the right of others in this nation, to travel freely and to express and to listen to unpopular views that the majority may find offensive.

Minister Louis Farrakhan's controversial 23-nation "world friendship tour"[1] has sparked government threats of investigation and prosecution. Congressmen Tom Lantos (D-CA) and Peter King (R-NY) introduced a resolution in Congress condemning Farrakhan's trip to Libya, Iran, and Iraq, as well as condemning the public criticisms made by Farrakhan of U.S. foreign policy while he traveled abroad.[2] The resolution, which passed by an overwhelming vote, also called on President Clinton to launch an investigation to determine if any U.S. laws were broken in the course of the tour.

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[1]Farrakhan hailed the trip as a mission to spread his message of peace and atonement throughout the world, in keeping with the spirit of his "Million Man March." Fletcher, Michael, Washington Post, February 26, 1996, at A-1.

[2]Farrakhan reportedly stated, while in Libya, that the United States is wrong to blame Libya for blowing up Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988. In Iraq, he reportedly criticized the economic embargo against Iraq, calling it the "mass murder of the Iraqi people."

In the midst of this furor, rhetoric similar to that used during the Cold War abounded. When listening to some of the opponents of the Farrakhan trip, one could merely substitute the words "terrorist threat" for the "communist menace" to evoke an historical echo. Reminiscent of debates at the height of the McCarthy era, we are warned to protect ourselves from the "ideological" threat from countries such as Iran and Libya by enforced travel restrictions for American citizens.

While many may legitimately disagree with Mr. Farrakhan's choice of destinations or the political views he expressed, the ACLU believes it is necessary to reaffirm that his right to travel, and to criticize the government, are fundamental rights guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments to the United States Constitution. Aptheker v. Secretary of State, 388 U.S. 500, 515-516 (1964); Kent v. Dulles, 357 U.S. 116 (1958). Two of the countries visited by Farrakhan -- Iraq and Libya -- are currently subject to restrictions on the use of U.S. passports under the Passport Act, 22 U.S.C. 211(a),[3] as well as de facto travel restrictions through currency regulations under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), 50 U.S.C. 1701-1706 (West Supp. 1985).[4] With respect to the Passport Act, we question whether the conditions that would allow the Executive to restrict use of the U.S. passport for travel have been met.

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[3]This section authorizes the executive to restrict the use of passports for travel to countries that are at war with the U.S., where armed hostilities are in progress, or where there is "imminent danger to the health or the physical safety of the U.S. travelers."

[4]All travel-related expenditures are prohibited with respect to Libya, 31 C.F.R. 550.203, and Iraq, 31 C.F.R. 575.207-208.

The ACLU opposes any attempt to prosecute Mr. Farrakhan, or to revoke his passport for his travel or speech abroad, as we believe that such punishment would seriously offend the Constitution.[5] The ACLU also supports those who wish to exercise their First Amendment right to criticize his actions.

The very essence of the First Amendment is the protection of core political speech, especially speech that is unpopular or represents a minority view. Texas v. Johnson, 491 U.S. 397 (1989). Freedom of movement is a value deeply ingrained in our history, and is a recognized human right under international law. See Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 13. In Kent v. Dulles, the Supreme Court ruled that the right to travel abroad is a constitutionally protected right that cannot be infringed on the basis of an individual's political beliefs. The Court recognized the link between freedom of speech and freedom of movement: "An American who has crossed the ocean is not obliged to form his opinions about our foreign policy merely from what he is told by officials of our government or by a few correspondents of American newspapers." 357 U.S. at 126-27.

In Aptheker v. Secretary of State, Justice Douglas emphasized that "freedom of movement is the very essence of our free society, setting us apart. Like the right of assembly and the right of association, it often makes all other rights meaningful -- knowing, studying, arguing, exploring, conversing, observing and even thinking. Once the right to travel is curtailed, all other rights suffer...." 378 U.S. at 520 (Douglas, J. concurring).

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[5]We take no position on other allegations, such as alleged violations of currency laws.

Congress should not use this occasion to reverse its previous record of acting to protect the right to travel. In 1978 Congress enacted the current amendment to the Passport Act, which limits the circumstances under which the government may impose area restrictions on U.S. travelers. This action was necessary to bring the United States into compliance with the Helsinki Accords on International Human Rights. In 1991, Congress again amended the Passport Act to ensure that it could not be used to revoke a citizen's passport on the basis of activities protected by the First Amendment. In 1994 the Free Trade in Ideas Act was enacted, prohibiting restrictions on travel in any future embargoes under IEEPA. At the request of the Administration, Congress deferred action on the embargoes currently in place, while expressing its sense that "the President should not restrict travel or exchanges for informational, educational, religious, cultural or humanitarian purposes ... between the United States and any other country."

The policy underlying these developments is that the constitutional rights of Americans should not be held hostage to foreign policy dictates of the day. Indeed, it is extremely doubtful that our foreign policy would be advanced by prosecuting Mr. Farrakhan for his travel or speech, for it is anomalous to seek to advance human rights and democratic values abroad by curtailing them at home.

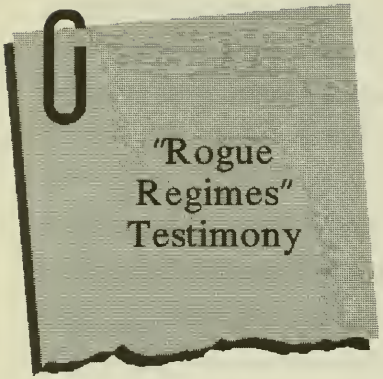
To prosecute Mr. Farrakhan for his travel or speech abroad would certainly leave no room for the United States to criticize the human rights record of the states he is condemned for visiting. As Laurence Tribe, Professor of Law at Harvard University, notes, "the close

surveillance and control of travel ... has always been a central technique of the totalitarian state." Tribe, Constitutional Law 1383 (2d. edition 1988). Justice Douglas pointed out that "[f]ree movement of the citizen is ... dangerous to a tyrant ... and it is therefore controlled ... in the interests of security." 378 U.S. at 520.

No serious argument can be advanced that Mr. Farrakhan's trip posed any threat to national security. His case is clearly distinguishable from the facts in Haig v. Agee, in which a former CIA official had his passport revoked for revealing the identities of CIA agents while traveling abroad. 453 U.S. 280 (1980). In that case, Justice Brennan warned against the view, advanced by the Solicitor General, that the government could revoke a citizen's passport for traveling abroad to criticize United States foreign policy. 453 U.S. at 319. As noted above, in 1991 Congress amended the Passport Act to guarantee that this could not happen.

CONCLUSION

In this post-Cold War era, it is more important than ever to defend First Amendment freedoms. We urge Congress to heed the advice of Justice Douglas, who, dissenting in Zemel, observed that: "[k]eeping alive intellectual intercourse between opposing groups has always been important, and perhaps was never more important than now." Zemel v. Rusk, 381 U.S. 1, 25 (1965). We urge the members of the Subcommittee to uphold the right of American citizens to travel, even if the political views expressed by those citizens are deemed to be antithetical to U.S. interests, as articulated by the current Administration and members of Congress.



Mr. Chairman,
Subcommittee on
International
Operations and
Human Rights

I offer the following as written testimony to be included in the Official Record of your Hearing on Attempts by Rogue Regimes to Influence U.S. Policy.

My name is Askia Muhammad. I am a journalist. I am a regular commentator on Christian Science Monitor Radio's "Early Edition." I am a regular panelist on Howard University WHMM-TV32's "Evening Exchange News Analysis." I have appeared often on C-SPAN's "Washington Journal." My weekly opinion column's home newspaper is *The Washington Informer*, and appears also in *The New York Daily Challenge, The* (Newark, NJ) *City News,* and in *The Sacramento Observer* newspapers. I am Washington Bureau Chief and White House Correspondent for *The Final Call* newspaper. I am the author of no fewer than five opinion articles which appeared in the Sunday Outlook Section of *The Washington Post*. I have written two opinion articles which appeared in *The Baltimore Sun*, as well as other pieces published in *The Boston Globe, Chicago Tribune, Los Angeles Times, The Nation,* and *USA Today*. I was a commentator from 1980 through 1993 on National Public Radio's "All Things Considered." Twice I have been a Judge of the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Awards. In 1993 I was awarded the "President's Award" by the Washington Association of Black Journalists, and in 1994 I received the Mayor's Award for Excellence in Service to the Arts, from Washington, D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly.

Before embarking on the 50,000-mile around-the-world Tour with Minister Farrakhan, I arranged with my friends at the 200-plus-member National Newspaper Publishers Association--The Black Press of America--to file articles once per week for NNPA's News Service. Those four articles as well as the one I wrote for *The Final Call* are included in this testimony, along with three newspaper opinion columns. I also offered most of the publications (and broadcasters) in which my work has appeared, a similar news package. The WOL Radio One Network, TPT Radio Network, and WPFW-FM-Pacifica Radio Network took advantage of my offer. I provided 10 reports (seven from various foreign ports of call) to those broadcasters, totalling nearly **nine hours of airtime** concerning the Tour and my observations of it.

I must say, my sense of shock and outrage at the **total disregard of all the good news from the Tour in countries Friendly to the U.S.** (i.e. Senegal, Ghana, Zaire, The Gambia, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey) by the major U.S. news media, was matched only by the **total distortion of the truth of what happened everywhere else**(!) in those same outlets. But when I saw the "stacked-deck" witnesses assembled by this Subcommittee, I thought the media censorship to be mere child's play, compared to the blatant flight from the real facts that were available, which created the atmosphere of a "witch hunt," rather than anything which could fairly be called an objective "hearing" of "truth."

With that said, I would like to summarize certain key points that this **contemporaneous record** of the trip (in eight articles, prepared under deadline conditions), and these **verbatim transcripts** of speeches and press conference remarks by Minister Farrakhan discloses.

Subcommittee Vice Chairman King has reportedly sent five letters to the Justice

Department, four to the State Department, and one to the Department of Treasury, urging more rapid and vigorous investigation of Minister Farrakhan's meetings with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. With regard to President Hussein, Minister Farrakhan spoke throughout Iraq about the need for atonement (for past mistakes) by Iraq's leaders, and about the need for the Iraqi leaders to reconcile their differences with all of their neighbors. Please refer to Minister Farrakhan's own words, "Press Conference notes Ankara, Turkey Feb. 19, 1996," on page 12 of the accompanying "News" report: "...Saddam Hussein shared his willingness to reconcile with Iran, with Kuwait, with the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia. He allowed us to travel on a road that had not been used in six years. In order to make the arrangements, he had to personally call the President of Syria." I wonder why this diplomatic achievement was never cited or referred to in the rush to adversely judge Minister Farrakhan's overseas role?

Subcommittee Member Lantos (along with Vice Chairman King) have sponsored a House Resolution condemning Minister Farrakhan's trip as anti-American. Representative Lantos has condemned Minister Farrakhan's meeting with Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, and compared the Minister with those responsible for the European Holocaust in the 1930s and 1940s. I of course take strong exception to that characterization and would like to refer your attention to the words of Africa's Elder Statesman and icon of racial tolerance, South African President Nelson Mandela ("Mandela-Farrakhan Meet: See Eye-to-Eye," page 1). "Our meeting was able to cover those things that we considered to be fundamental," Pres. Mandela told reporters on the steps of his private residence in the exclusive Houghton District, where he receives his most important state visitors. "And there was no issue that arose on which there was disagreement. He has explained his position. His views are identical with the principles that I put forward." Most media reports that were circulated in this country, and in the popular South African press instead had President Mandela delivering a stern "lecture" to Minister Farrakhan on racial tolerance.

Concerning Colonel Qaddafi (page 2): "When asked to comment about Min. Farrakhan's delegation meeting with the leaders of Libya and Nigeria...Pres. Mandela was emphatic. 'Well, those are the leaders I have myself met. Col. Qaddafi is a man who has helped the anti-apartheid struggle in this country. I will take the first opportunity to meet him again, because to us he has been a pillar of strength,' Pres. Mandela said." Indeed, Col. Qaddafi has visited President Mandela in South Africa, since our delegation was there, and he was received at the highest levels.

In that same article, Minister Farrakhan had this to say about the Libyan leader: "I heard that Brother Muammar Qaddafi did pledge a hundred million to a thousand million--that's a billion dollars--to the empowerment of Blacks, Muslims, Arabs in the United States," Min. Farrakhan said at a press conference. "He did not make that statement to me, but he did make it in a speech (delivered Sept. 1, 1995 in Tripoli). He did offer support. We cannot be lobbyists, we are not registered as lobbyists for any foreign power, but everybody of consequence is concerned about the political direction of the United States....We intend to participate with others in the recruitment of eight million qualified but unregistered Black voters. And if you may recall, in the last presidential election, less than 50 percent of those who were eligible to vote actually voted. This is a sign to the wise that there is great dissatisfaction inside America with the politicians and the process....And by leveraging that kind of political force we believe we can come up with an agenda that is in the best interest not only of Blacks, but in the best interest of all of the people of America..."

Although in her "Rogue Regimes" Hearing opening remarks Subcommittee Member McKinney cautioned against relying solely on news reports in deciding delicate and important matters such as this, I must refer to news reports that we received during the trip, that because of his meetings with Col. Qaddafi, with Nigerian Head of State Gen. Sani Abacha, with Iranian President Rafsanjani, and with Iraqi President Hussein, State Department Spokesman Nicholas Burns criticized Minister Farrakhan for "cavorting with dictators." At every stage of the trip Minister Farrakhan preached atonement and reconciliation. He never condoned nor did he ever excuse injustice or tyranny. In Lagos, Nigeria, at a Feb. 7 press conference (page 9) immediately following a speech to the entire Diplomatic Corps (including a representative from the U.S. Embassy) Minister Farrakhan had this to say in response to a question about dissent: "When you deal with regimes that have to mature, if I were living in Africa, I'd probably be dead, speaking the way I speak. I'm living in America. I have to pay a price for speaking the way I speak, but in America, they have matured to the point where they allow the dissent of opinion. Even if you disagree

with your government you can say it, but you will pay a price for it. Even in America, I pay a price for speaking the way I speak. But I hope that we would mature to the point where we would listen to those who don't agree with us. Because of the discontent of the Nigerian nationals who are here and abroad, you might hear something to help you formulate your democracy even better than you would if you don't listen to those who are in disagreement." Although I am not surprised that there were no reports about these things (of which I made audio tape recordings) which were said overseas by the Minister, I wish to point to the aforementioned accounts of what really transpired concerning Messrs. Abacha, Qaddafi, and Hussein.

While the news reports of Minister Farrakhan meeting with President Hussein of Iraq may have been "the last straw" for exasperated observers in this country during the tour, the reports of what happened in Iran may have been "the straw that broke the camel's back," to coin two phrases. This is also where the greatest distortion occurred. For example, Minister Farrakhan did not say he would "bring down America." (See Ankara press conference notes, p. 12) He did not call his homeland "The Great Satan." He did not chant "Death to America. Death to Israel."

Indeed, on the 17th Anniversary of Iran's Islamic Revolution, when he became the first non-Iranian (even more noteworthy because he is from America) to speak to the millions of people assembled at Azadi (Freedom) Square, his message was anything but anti-American! Realize that we had driven for 20 minutes into this huge crowd (which Iranian officials estimated to be five-million-persons live, and tens of millions more on television), and then walked for 30 minutes when our motorcade could not proceed any further. When people in the crowd saw us, and recognized us as (dressed like) Americans, they would chant even louder: "Bah-bah-Ahm-reeka. Bah-bah-Israh-lee (Death to America Death to Israel)." Even as he identified himself as being from the United States, he was greeted by this chant. Yet, in the second paragraph of this transcript (page 10), after his opening, paying respect to his hosts he said something truly startling, which of course, has never been reported in this country: "...The problem in the Muslim world is not America, nor is it Israel, nor is it the West. The problem in the Muslim world is that our world has deviated from the path of Prophet Muhammad and the teaching of the Holy Qur'an." Further, the next day in the Holy City of Qom, the hometown of the late Ayatollah Khomeini, the Father of the Islamic Revolution, Minister Farrakhan cut off a group of students at the Islamic University there, when they were reciting such a chant and said to them: "Again, these are slogans. You cannot bring down America or Israel with a slogan...The only power that can bring them down is truth....The Holy Prophet cleansed his people from ignorance, from drunkenness, from disrespect of women, from infanticide, and he made his people lovers of knowledge....Let the blood that runs through your veins, coursing into your brain carry energy to give vision to you, that each of you may become like the Prophet Himself, one man creating a revolution in your country. Not a revolution with the gun, for Allah says, He will never change the condition of a people until they change their hearts....How many of you will say, 'I will be like Prophet Muhammad and create a new world of Islam?' Will you do it? Will you do it? Will you do it? Will we all do it? Allah-hu Akbar (God is Great). Allah-hu Akbar. Allah-hu Akbar. Allah-hu Akbar. And so it is done. May God bless you. May Allah bless all of your teachers. May Allah bless each and every one of you to be the best Muslim that you can be to change this world, so that never, ever again will we ever think about our color, our hair, our lips, our nationality. We will only think about one thing, and that is: Allah says, He created every human being to be a Muslim. May Allah Bless you. Thank you..."

At the conclusion of this speech, something truly remarkable happened. It was never reported in this country. I think I understand why. The Iranian interpreter told me this had happened, but I didn't realize it was true until I listened to the tape myself in order to make this transcript, because there was a confusing exit from the crowded room where this speech took place. After the conclusion of this speech, these same Muslim students from Islamic countries around the world, who had interrupted the speech of Minister Louis Farrakhan chanting, "Death to America," now repeatedly chanted: "LONG LIVE AHM-REEKA. LONG LIVE AHM-REEKA."

In light of the hysteria that has been whipped up around the country in the news media and on Capitol Hill by the demonization of Minister Louis Farrakhan, I have little wonder that the facts contained in this report have never been brought to the American public's attention. Thank you for reading this.

Farrakhan Begins World Friendship Tour in Africa

By Askia Muhammad
(The Final Call)

(ACCRA, Ghana--January 19, 1996)--Minister Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, launched a whirlwind World Friendship Tour here after meetings with Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of Ghana. The tour will include 23 African and Islamic nations and is intended to spread the spirit and success of the Million Man March to other parts of the world and establish Oct. 16 as an international Day of Atonement and Reconciliation.

Min. Farrakhan--chosen 1995 "Man of the Year" by the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA)--the Black Press of America--is leading a 28-member delegation which spent its first full day meeting with leaders in civil-war-torn Liberia. Liberians and other West Africans are trying to implement a shaky-peace process after a bloody six-year factional war. The delegation will also travel to Nigeria, where international attention has focused since the executions of nine minority Ogoni activists last November.

"The message (we brought to Liberia) is one of atonement," Min. Farrakhan said at press conference following a round of meetings with the Liberian Council of State, diplomatic and military leaders representing the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and with Christian as well as Islamic leaders "There are none of us who have struggled for justice for our people who have not made mistakes or errors, sometimes unwittingly, sometimes we have made errors knowingly.

"As a result of errors and mistakes we have offended each other. Sometimes it's minimal and sometimes it has caused bloodshed. We believe that we are living at a time when we must embrace each other. We must forgive each other. We must atone to each other for the things that we have done that separate us from each other and create hostility between each other. And so, that spirit of atonement, that spirit of reconciliation, and that spirit of forgiveness, that is the message we bring to Liberia. That is the message we bring to Africa. That is the message, really that we bring to the world."

Liberian political as well as religious leaders said they were repeating to this delegation what they told Ambassador Madeline Albright, U.S. Representative to the U.N. "Influence the Congressional Black Caucus," Wilton Sankawolo, Chairman of the Council of State said, "to influence the United States (government) to help the peace process." The delegation includes former Rep. Gus Savage (D-IL), former Gary, IN Mayor Thomas Barnes, National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) representative Dr. Sarah Moten, and the Rev. Al Sampson, a Chicago pastor and the only minister personally ordained by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The international community has ignored Liberia, several leaders told the fact-finding group, or it has given only piece-meal aid. The principal needs of the international West African peace-keeping force, called ECOMOG, are transportation and communications. At a U.N. "pledging conference," industrialized nations pledged more than $140 million in humanitarian aid, most of which has not been forthcoming For its part, the U.S. pledged $10 million, but tied to it a stipulation that U.S. civilian contractors must lease and operate the military vehicles, even during military combat operations

"The value of what happened" during the visit to Liberia, Rep Savage said, "is that we showed that African Americans care about Liberia, and we learned how important it is for all of us to learn more about Africa. We made a real contribution to Africa and to ourselves."

Mandela-Farrakhan Meet: See Eye-to-Eye

By Askia Muhammad
(The Final Call)

(JOHANNESBURG--January 28, 1996)--With outstretched arms and greeting his visitor by his first name, South African President Nelson Mandela descended the steps of his residence and walked up to the limousine of his visitor and declared, "Louis."

With that greeting, the elder statesman welcomed Nation of Islam leader Minister Louis Farrakhan to his country as a battery of reporters and photographers watched from the front lawn of the residence. The two leaders smiled warmly, embraced and walked back up the steps chatting before turning to reporters for photos.

Min. Farrakhan, in South Africa as part of a World Friendship Tour to spread the success of the Oct 16 Million Man March, was accompanied by a delegation of Nation of Islam officials and Black religious, political and civic leaders, some of whom helped organize the march After a 30-minute private discussion, Minister Farrakhan and President Mandela emerged from the residence to tell reporters about their discussion.

"Our meeting was able to cover those things that we considered to be fundamental," Pres Mandela told reporters on the steps of his private residence in the exclusive Houghton District, where he receives his most important state visitors. "And there was no issue that arose, on which there was disagreement. He has explained his position. His views are identical with the principles that I put forward." Pres. Mandela had been under increasing political and diplomatic pressure not to meet with the Nation of Islam (NOI) leader because of the controversy surrounding the interpretation of some of Min. Farrakhan's views in the U.S

"All of the principles that

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Washington, DC 20005, March 1996

President Mandela has outlined, we agreed with totally," Min. Farrakhan said. "Islam is a religion which, if practiced, disallows racism, injustice, tyranny and oppression. What you have in most countries are politicians who become Heads of State, not teachers" the NOI leader said of Pres. Mandela. "Mr. Mandela is, of course, a politician, but because he has taken on the task of a non-racial society and a (government) of national unity, he must be the principal teacher of that.

"To be a teacher means you are going to erase ignorance. We will find that the worst enemy of man and mankind is neither White nor Black, Christian, or Jew, or Muslim. The worst enemy of us all is ignorance. So, the whole human family needs a teacher, and every nation needs a Head of State like yours," Min. Farrakhan said.

The delegation which met Pres. Mandela and seven other Heads of State in seven other African countries in just 12 days, includes: the Rev. Al Sampson, a Chicago pastor and the only minister personally ordained into the Southern Christian Leadership Conference by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr; Dr. Sarah Moten, international affairs representative of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW); Thomas Barnes, former Gary, Indiana Mayor and former President of the World Conference of Mayors (Dr. Moten and Mayor Barnes did not travel to Libya); Ali Baghdadi, Secretary of the U.S. Islamic Political Conference and *Final Call* columnist; Leonard F. Muhammad, NOI Chief of Staff; Akbar Muhammad, NOI International Representative; Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad, NOI Minister of Health; Sister Khadijah Farrakhan, wife of the NOI Leader; and other family members and staff.

Pres. Mandela--known popularly as "Mandiba," which is a title of respect for his family's ancestral name, and which translates to mean "Our Father"--is held in high esteem especially by Black South Africans because of "his statesmanship, his diplomacy," said journalist and political observer Phyllis Crockett. "He is a politician, but he's not just a politician, he really is a leader."

Before coming to South Africa, the delegation met with leaders in seven African capitals including: Ghana--where Pres. Jerry John Rawlings has lent the full support of his government, as well as his own personal diplomacy with other presidents--Liberia, Nigeria, Libya, Senegal, The Gambia, and Zaire. In troubled Liberia, where a fractious civil war has resulted in a half million deaths and more than a million refugees, the delegation met with five of the six members of the ruling Council of State. The sixth member--Charles Taylor--telephoned Min. Farrakhan because he was not in the country on the meeting date.

In Libya, Col. Muammar Qaddafi, praised the Million Man March (MMM). "Your march was a test," he said. It was a test of the Min. Farrakhan, the NOI, and the operational unity of the organizers he said. "Praise be to Allah, you were successful in this examination.

"America has committed atrocities against us," he said, identifying himself and the Libyan people with the plight of the worst off in the U.S. society. "We should use these events to rally our people. There are many oppressed in America. Some who are oppressed are not Black. We still relate to them, although usually Blacks are the oppressed ones."

In Nigeria, the U.S. group paid its respects to Head of State Gen. Sani Abacha and his wife Maryam, on the tragic death of their oldest son Ibrahim. The 28-year-old, who had been helping organize the Friendship Tour's visit to Nigeria, was killed in a plane crash near his home in Kano, the day before the delegation arrived in Africa. The tour is expected to return to Nigeria for extensive fact finding meetings with government officials and with opponents of the military regime, including jailed 1993 Presidential candidate, Chief M.K.O. Abiola.

When asked to comment about Min. Farrakhan's delegation meeting with the leaders of Libya and Nigeria--two countries currently subjected to the political scorn of the U.S. and other western countries--Pres. Mandela was emphatic. "Well, those are the leaders I have myself met.

"Col. Qaddafi is a man who has helped the anti-apartheid struggle in this country. I will take the first opportunity to meet him again because to us, he has been a pillar a strength," Pres. Mandela--"Mandiba"--said. "Gen. Abacha, I have visited him, had discussions with him. If he takes the measures which are necessary for us again to open the doors of communication between ourselves, I will be the first person to get in contact with him. And this is the release of Chief Abiola, Gen. Obasanjo, and all the other people, political activists, trade unionists, religious leaders who have been incarcerated; and of course, the introduction of democracy."

"I heard that Brother Muammar Qaddafi did pledge a hundred million to a thousand million--that's a billion dollars--to the empowerment of Blacks, Muslims and Arabs in the United States," Min. Farrakhan said at a press conference. "He did not make that statement to me, but he did make it in a speech (delivered Sept. 1, 1995 in Tripoli). He did offer support. We cannot be lobbyists, we are not registered as lobbyists for any foreign power, but everybody of consequence is concerned about the political direction of the United States. We are also of that concern and this is why in America the Muslim community has resolved to become more poltically active than we ever have been since the inception of the Nation of Islam.

"We intend to participate with others in the recruitment of eight million qualified but unregistered Black voters. And if you may recall in the last presidential election, less than 50 percent of those who were eligible to vote actually voted. This is a sign to the wise that there is great dissatisfaction inside America with the politicians and the process. So we decided that if we are going to make change that will benefit our brothers and sisters in Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean, Central and South America, and our brothers and sisters inside the United States, we have to develop a third political force.

"That force is not just Black, but it must begin with that strong base of Black voting power with Latinos, with Asians, with Arabs, with Whites who feel left out of the process. And by leveraging that kind of political force we believe we can come up with an agenda that is in the best interest not only of Blacks, but in the best interest of all of the people of America, and in the best interest of our brothers and sisters throughout the world, who struggle against foreign policy objectives that may not be in their best interest."

The delegation also met with Senegalese Pres. Abou Diouf; with Captain Yahya A.J.J. Jammeh, Chairman of the ruling AFPRC and Head of State of the Republic of The Gambia; and with Pres. Mobutu Sese Seko, of Zaire; where Min. Farrakhan reiterated how the march themes of atonement and reconciliation are as much applicable to Africans on the continent, as they are to the sons and daughters of Africa in the U.S.

This first-ever private around-the-world tour by a Black leader from America who is being received on the level of a head of state, is scheduled to reiterate the call for a world-wide "Million Families Day of Atonement and Reconciliation," Oct. 16, 1996. Other countries on the itinerary include: Mozambique, Zimbabwe, the Sudan, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Malaysia, continuing through mid-February.

of the Nigerian leg of the trip, "Farrakhan is not a man who can be bought or paid for. If the white man can't buy me, and he's richer than Nigeria, then Nigeria doesn't stand a chance. My integrity is all I have ... I'm a messenger of truth and justice, I'm not a messenger for any government. I want and hope to help reconcile differences," he said.

Equally in the Muslim world, the official "red carpet" has been extended everywhere Min. Farrakhan has gone. At Capetown, South Africa, where that nation's oldest Islamic community resides, those descendants from Malaysian immigrants cheered him when he spoke at their mosque. He met with the most distinguished Muslim scholars everywhere he travelled.

Throughout the Islamic provinces of Nigeria, the NOI leader was cheered and honored like no person from America, ever before--Black or White, Muslim, Christian, Hebrew, or agnostic.

In Maiduguri, Nigeria for example, Min. Farrakhan became only the ninth person in the thousand-year-plus history of Islam in that region, to be honored with a "Durba"--a parade by thousands of Chiefs and warriors on horseback, each lowering his sword or spear in respect--by the Shehu of Borno who presides there. Emperor Haile Selassie, King George VI, Prince Charles and Lady Diana, are among the previous eight outsiders to receive a Durba.

At Ibadan, Nigeria--where the Ooni of Ife, the leader of the world's 36-million Yoruba people, traces his seat of authority to the very beginning of time, when (according to the oral history) the first Ooni descended from Heaven to the same spot at Ile Ife, Ibadan where the palace sits today--Min. Farrakhan was enstooled as Chief Ade Farrakhan, "From The Source."

Although at home, some of Min. Farrakhan's critics belittle his restoration of the Message and movement of the Hon. Elijah Muhammad, as being not "authentic" Islam, he was accorded high honors in Saudi Arabia, the nation-custodian of the Islam's Holiest Shrines. Min. Farrakhan's chartered executive jet touched down at Jeddah, its 19th destination, on the 19th day of the Holy Month of Ramadan.

At the Grand Mosque at the Kabah in Mecca, Arabia, the reception was distinguished. Min. Farrakhan and the 30 Muslim believers traveling with him were received by the Emam of the Holy Mosque. He was met by the newly installed President of Rabata, The World Muslim League. As his party performed Umrah (which is pilgrimage in other than the Hajj season), he walked just shouting distance behind the party of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah.

And in Iran the NOI leader visited two sacred tombs in two holy cities. Min. Farrakhan laid a wreath at the tomb of the "Father" of the modern Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini who died in 1989. He spoke at the theological school and toured the library at Emam Khomeini's home town of Qom. And he visited the tomb of Ali, who was Islam's third Caliph, after the death of the Prophet in the city of Mashhad, where 12 million pilgrims visit every year.

Farrakhan, Syrian Muslim Leaders Meet, Embrace

by Askia Muhammad

(The Final Call)

(DAMASCUS, Syria--Feb. 17, 1996)--Add another capital of Islamic scholarship and leadership to those where Nation of Islam leader the Hon. Louis Farrakhan has won friends in the highest councils of power.

"I knew something of you before," Syrian President Hafez Asad told the NOI leader and Sheikh Ahmad Kuftaro, the Grand Mufti of Syria, following a three-hour meeting in his hilltop office overlooking the historic city. "But now I know more. I believe that I am sitting beside a man who is pious, and who is strident in struggling for his cause. As you said from the Qur'an: 'In the end, right is always victorious over wrong.'"

The Grand Mufti, the chief Islamic scholar in this nation of 18 million, added his own appreciation of the work being done by Min. Farrakhan to rapidly spread Islam in the United States. Muslims from America, he said, "used to come to us to learn from us. Now, we need to come to you to learn from you. So, I say let's talk to Min. Farrakhan to take the message of Islam, which also takes the message of the Christ and the message of Moses--the message of the Abrahamic religions." In 1966, during a visit to the U.S., the Grand Mufti visited the Hon. Elijah Muhammad, founder of the NOI in the U.S., at his home in Chicago.

Min. Farrakhan--Mr. Muhammad's National Representative, who is responsible for reviving Mr. Muhammad's work in the U.S., and who organized the historic Million Man March Oct. 16, 1995--neared the final stage of his historic 20-nation African and Muslim World Friendship Tour here as the Islamic world celebrated the Holy Month of Ramadan's "precious jewel," al-Qadr, the Night of Power. Ramadan is the Muslim season of fasting during the daylight hours, required of all adults in good health. Described in the Holy Qur'an as "...better than a thousand months," the Night of Power is characterised as being a night of "ultimate contact between heaven and earth," by Bashar Safi in the *Syria Times*. It occurs during the last 10 nights of Ramadan, often on the 27th night.

For his part, a smile came over Min. Farrakhan's face when he was asked his opinion of the personality of the Grand Mufti, at a press conference later. "He is in his person, a national treasure to the people of Syria, and to the whole Muslim world. I see him as a sincere scholar and warrior for Islam, and he represents the new rise of truth and the new rise of Islam."

The Nation of Islam leader was guest lecturer and was introduced by Sheikh Kuftaro at the Jummah (afternoon) prayer service at Abou al-Nour Mosque. The delegation from the U.S., consisting of: the Rev. Al Sampson, pastor of Fernwood United Methodist Church in Chicago, the only pastor personally ordained into the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. himself; Dr. Sarah Moten, international affairs adviser to National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) President Dr. Dorothy Height; and several NOI officials--was the guest of the Grand Mufti and his Islamic Call Society, while visiting Syria.

"We pray and hope we (the Nation of Islam) can have strong relations with Syria," Min. Farrakhan said during his meeting with Pres. Asad. "And we hope Syria has good relations with America. We love America but we are concerned about her condition. She is dying from an internal rot. So with your help we can reach the people in the U.S., and we can help America be a super-power of justice and not a super-power of wealth and weapons."

Still, the NOI leader faces a possible Congressional investigation, and charges that he violated five U.S. laws, which could result in a 29-year prison term. When asked at the press conference how he will confront any legal charges against him, Min. Farrakhan was emphatic. "There are bridges that one must cross, but one cannot cross a bridge till he gets to it. I will have to see what awaits me.

"But I am confident that I left America with Allah going before me, coming behind me, and surrounding me. And I go back to America

Farrakhan's World Tour

By Askia Muhammad

(The Final Call)

(TEHRAN, Iran--Feb. 11, 1996)--It was the most historic observance ever of the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. In addition to its coinciding with the anniversary from antiquity of the death of Ali, a companion of Prophet Muhammad and s highly revered martyr among Iranian Muslims, the 17th anniversary celebration of the modern Islamic Revolution in Iran featured its first non-Iranian speaker.

"We are here to pay tribute to one of the greatest spiritual revolutions in the world," Min. Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) in America said to more than five million people at Azadi (Freedom) Square here, and to tens of millions more watching on television throughout the nation. "Allah called upon Iran to execute the will of God, the Qur'an, and Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. Iran is now in the vanguard of the Islamic revolution sweeping the earth." He was flanked on the speaker's platform by Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and several other influential clergymen.

He was not simply the first Black person ever permitted to speak on the official anniversary program. Indeed, his honor at being the first non-Iranian to be accorded that station since supporters of Ayatollah Ruhola Khomeini swept Shah Reza Pahlavi from the Peacock Throne in 1979 was increased one-hundred-fold, because of the bitter contempt in which the people of this ancient and proud civilization hold the American government.

Hours later Min. Farrakhan added a revealing perspective to his work "There is a verse of scripture from the Bible," he said in the Holy City of Mashhad, "that reads: 'A prophet is not without honor except in his own house.' Ever since we embarked on this world tour, we as a delegation and I personally as the head of this delegation have been honored in every country into which we have gone."

Min. Farrakhan--and his delegation, consisting of the Rev. Al Sampson, pastor of Fernwood United Methodis. Chureh in Chicago, the only pastor personally ordained into the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. himself; retired Illinois Rep. Gus Savage (who left in Senegal); retired Gary, Indiana Mayor and former president of the World Conference of Mayors, Thomas Barnes (who left in South Africa); Dr. Sarah Moten (who did not travel to Libya or Iran), international affairs adviser to National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) President Dr. Dorothy Height; and several NOI officials--was accorded the honors of a head of state in each and every nation he visited. But at home members of Congress are calling for his arrest and imprisonment.

In Nigeria, no door was closed to the convener of the historic 1995 Million Man March on Washington. Min. Farrakhan met Head of State Gen. Sani Abacha, 1993 presidential candidate Chief M.K.O. Abiola, Foreign Minister Tom Ikhimi, and a host of other government officials.

The voices of discontented Nigerians all over the world must be given a chance to speak their hurt and the Nigerian government must address their concerns with justice, he said during a press conference at the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs Feb. 7. But those voices must not allow themselves to be stooges for wicked forces that seek to destabilize one of the strongest countries on the African continent, he said.

"I think the (Sani) Abacha regime should be given a chance to move this country toward democracy," he said, referring to the interim government of General Sani Abacha, who assumed power in 1993 following the annulment of an election process that would have led to civilian rule. "If President Abacha is asking for three years to lay a foundation for democracy, what right does America or any other government have to say that he must do it in one or two years?

"There are outside forces that manipulate circumstances in every government in Africa to help them to stay weak so they can never gain control of themselves. If you wipe out Nigeria, then all of Africa becomes a playground again for Europe in the 21st Century," he said. The press conference was held at the conclusion of Minister Farrakhan's Nigerian leg of his World Friendship Tour. The tour, which began Jan. 17 will eventually take him to some 23 countries in Africa and the Middle East where he and his delegation are spreading the spirit of the Million Man March and proposing a World Day of Atonement for Oct. 16, 1996.

The international community, particularly the U.S. and Britain, has been calling for sanctions and other pressures against Nigeria following the annulment of 1993 elections and alleged human rights violations. Last November pressure increased dramatically following the executions the nine minority Ogoni activists, including writer Ken Saro-Wiwa. Mr. Saro-Wiwa and the others were convicted of murdering four Ogoni chiefs who were accused by Mr. Saro-Wiwa of collaborating with the central government, and with Shell Oil Co. Shell and the government are accused of polluting the region's environment while doing little for the people whose lives are disrupted by the petroleum operations.

Min. Farrakhan announced that he and the Rev. Sampson, Leonard Muhammad, his Chief of Staff, and his son Mustapha Farrakhan met with Chief Mashood Abiola. Mr. Abiola has been detained and is awaiting a trial on charges of treason because he declared himself President of the country and attempted to put into place his own government, despite the fact that his June, 1993 presidential election had been declared illegal by two Supreme Court rulings and annulled by then military ruler Gen. Ibrahim Babangida.

"We saw Chief Abiola and we heard what he had to say and we are comparing what he said with what we have heard from members of the government," Min. Farrakhan told the press conference. "He spoke very openly, very frankly and very forthrightly. All of us were impressed with him.

"I cannot say with truth that the discussion we had with government will lead to Chief Abiola's release. We desire his release and we hope soon he will be released, but of course there are conditions," he said, explaining that one condition is that Chief Abiola give up the idea that he won the election and agree to let the three-year process continue.

Min. Farrakhan also announced that he and his delegation had visited Ogoniland, but the trip was too brief to draw conclusions. During the four-hour stop, delegates visited the site where the four chiefs were murdered and talked with several eye-witnesses. Min. Farrakhan pledged, however, to send a team of journalists back in several weeks to talk with all parties involved, including Mr. Saro-Wiwa's lawyers, witnesses and members of Mr. Saro-Wiwa's activist group MOSOP.

"There is nothing we can do to bring Ken Saro-Wiwa back. The only thing we can do is speak the truth based on what we find ... hoping that the truth will lead, if there are human rights abuses, to correction," Min. Farrakhan said.

Answering the "intent" of one reporter's question, Min. Farrakhan said that while the Nigerian government helped to sponsor a portion

the same way I left.Allah is sufficient for me, and I fear not the censure of any censurer, because my duty is not to please the government of the United States. My duty is to please Allah. And I am supremely confident that Allah is pleased with my trip, and pleased with my words. For any word that helps to bind that which was broken and heal that which was wounded, and unite that which was disunited pleases Allah, but it displeases the enemies of Allah.

"And so, the Constitution guarantees me freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, that I have the right of freedom of association. So, I don't know what law I have offended. But I leave that to courts and to lawyers. I will let them argue that. But I will say very candidly, the more they make trouble for me, the more Allah will make trouble for them.

Islamic Nations Welcome Muslims From the 'West'

by Askia Muhammad

(The Final Call)

(KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia Feb. 22, 1996)--The myth of rejection of the followers of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad by the world's Islamic nations has been relegated to the trash-bin of history by the World Friendship tour of Minister Louis Farrakhan. Instead, Min. Louis Farrakhan is being hailed as an essential component in the world revival of Islam as the new "superpower in the 21st Century."

From the Holy City Mecca; to the capital of Iran's 17-year-old Islamic "revolution;" to ancient Baghdad, Damascus, and Istanbul; the welcome accorded to the Nation of Islam leader was equal to that of a learned head of state of a respected Muslim nation.

After diplomatic and political victory, after stunning victory in Africa--from Capetown to the Mediterranean--Min. Farrakhan won friends and opened previously locked doors in the official Muslim capitals as well. Arriving for "Umrah" (Pilgrimage in other than official "Hajj" season) at the Grand Mosque in Mecca during the night on the 21st day of Ramadan, Min. Farrakhan was received in private chambers by the Emam of the Grand Mosque and by the new President of Rabata, the World Muslim League who flew to Mecca from Medina, when he learned that Min. Farrakhan would be there.

When the NOI leader and 29 other believers completed the "Tawaf," or seven circuits around the Black Stone at the Ka'bah, and proceeded to march (as Hagar, wife of Prophet Abraham and mother of Ishmael had done centuries ago and as hundreds of millions of Pilgrims have done since) between the hills of Safa Marwa, his party was just a few steps behind Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Abdallah and his entourage of 150, drinking water from the legendary "Well of Zam Zam."

The comments of Syrian President Hafez al-Asad were typical of the accolades Min. Farrakhan heard in the Islamic world. "I knew something of you before," President Assad told the NOI leader and Sheikh Ahmad Kuftaro, the Grand Mufti of Syria following a three-hour meeting in his hilltop office overlooking the historic city. "But now I know more. I believe I am sitting beside a man who is pious, and who is strident in struggling for his cause. As you said from the Qur'an: 'In the end, right is always victorious over wrong.'"

The Grand Mufti, the chief Islamic Scholar in that nation of 18 million added his own appreciation of the work being done by Min. Farrakhan to rapidly spread Islam in the U.S. Muslims from America, he said, "used to come to us to learn from us. Now, we need to come to you to learn from you. So, I say, let's talk to Min. Farrakhan to take the message of Islam, which also takes the message of the Christ and the message of Moses--the message of the Abrahamic religions.

The Syrian scholar offered a cultural "treaty," including hundreds of scholarships for young men and women from the U.S. at the Islamic Call Society Academy he founded in Damascus. Min. Farrakhan was guest lecturer and was introduced by Sheikh Kuftaro at Jummah (Friday afternoon) prayers at Abou al-Nour Mosque.

"We pray and hope we (the Nation of Islam) can have strong relations with Syria," Min. Farrakhan said during his meeting with Pres. Asad. "And we hope Syria will develop good relations with America. America is a great nation, but we are concerned about her condition. She is dying from an internal rot. With your help we can reach the people in the U.S., and possibly help America, if she would listen, become a super-power of justice and not a super-power of wealth and weapons."

In Iran, Min. Farrakhan laid a wreath at the tomb of Ayatollah Ruhola Khomeini, and lectured at the Islamic University in Emam Khomeini's hometown, the Holy City Qom. At the Iranian Holy City of Mashhad--where 12 million pilgrims each year visit the tomb of Emam Reza--Min. Farrakhan and his party were shown many of the wonders of that ancient city. Among those treasures was the oldest known Bible, a 2,000-year-old manuscript in the original Hebrew text, one of millions of volumes in the ultra-modern library there.

"I am in Iran to pay tribute to one of the greatest spiritual revolutions in modern world history," Min. Farrakhan told more than 5 million people gathered at Azadi (Freedom) Square for the 17th anniversary of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and to tens of millions more watching throughout the nation on television. "To the noble brothers and sisters of Iran, we want you to know we are very proud that Islam is truly established in Iran, with an Islamic Republic."

The political stagnation and decline in other parts of the Muslim world today, Min. Farrakhan said, is because leaders in Islamic nations have deviated from the right path. "The problem in the Muslim world is not America, nor is it Israel, nor is it the West," he said after Iranians greeted him with the chant: "death to America, death to Israel."

"The problem in the Muslim world is that our world has deviated from the path of Prophet Muhammad and the teaching of the Holy Qur'an. Allah sent us Emam Khomeini to guide and lead the Iranian people on the straight path. Iran is now the vanguard of the Islamic revolution sweeping the earth.

"Emam Khomeini lives in the hearts and minds of Muslims throughout the world. Allah has called upon Iran to execute the will of God, the Qur'an and Prophet Muhammad," he said.

The African and Muslim World Tour coincided with the Muslim world's celebration of the Holy Month of Ramadan, the season of fasting during daylight hours required of all adults in good health, and concluded in the most observant Islamic countries during the last 10 days of Ramadan, a very special time.

The tour was inspired by the success of the Oct. 16, 1995 Million Man March and Day of Responsibility, Reconciliation and Atonement, and was used by Min. Farrakhan to enlist world wide support for a World Day of Atonement, Oct. 16, 1996.

In Turkey Min. Farrakhan struck up an immediate friendship with Prof. Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the Islamic "Welfare" Party, which one the largest number of parliamentary seats in recent national elections in that NATO-member country.

"I never said I'd bring down America," he said in Ankara, the Turkish capital in answer to a question about Islam dominating other religions in the U.S. "America is like a modern Pharaoh. Allah raised Pharaoh to be able to demonstrate His power, when Pharaoh

was brought down. Allah is saving America--the "modern Babylon"--for Himself.

"With Iran's President Rafsanjani," he said, "and with the other ayatollahs of Iran, we discussed reconciliation. They agreed to accelerate the pace of reconciliation. Saddam Hussein shared his willingness to reconcile with Iran, with Kuwait, with the United Arab Emirates, and with Saudi Arabia. He allowed us to travel on a road (to the Syrian border) that had not been used in six years. In order to make the arrangements he had to personally call the President of Syria.

In the recent election, he said, "Turks voted their conscience. Turks must now decide whether or not to live under sharia (Islamic law). It is not for Louis Farrakhan to decide or even to comment on. If Turkey decides to return to faith, it will return to her former glory. Islam is not an extremist faith. If Turkey turns to Islam, Christians, women, racial minorities and intellectuals will be protected."

The very special reception for the U.S. Muslim leader was heightened in the Islamic world because he was in that part of the world during the time of "al-Qadr, the Night of Power." Described in the Holy Qur'an as "...better than a thousand months," the Night of Power is characterized as being a night of "ultimate contact between heaven and earth," by Bashar Safi in the *Syrian Times*. It is said to occur during the last 10 nights of Ramadan, on one of the odd numbered nights, often on the 27th night.

Even in Iraq, shattered by the effect of the 1990 Persian Gulf War and subsequent punitive sanctions, embargoes and the freezing of Iraqi assets in banks around the world, there was a warm Islamic reception for Min. Farrakhan. Despite widespread suffering among children, the sick, infirmed and most vulnerable, Min. Farrakhan met for more than an hour with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

At the conclusion of Ramadan, Min. Farrakhan addressed the Eid ul-Fitr at Istanbul, Turkey's grand "Blue Mosque," the Mosque of Saladdin. He concluded his remarks and remained to shake hands with thousands of celebrants--many of whom kissed his hand--in this Islamic nation with a distinctly European population.

Even in Malaysia in the far-off South China Sea, where Min. Farrakhan's official appearances only included an address to 200 students from around the world at the Islamic academy here, his message was upbeat and hopeful, like his remarks to each group of students to which he spoke.

"America says she's the only superpower left," he told one student gathering. "But she better look again. Islam is the next world superpower, and you will be the leaders of that world, so get into your books, study. All of your countries await your growth. So hurry. Study hard. Put the word of Allah, deep into your hearts.

"Let the blood that runs through your veins, coursing into your brain carry energy to give vision to you, that each one of you may become like the Prophet himself, one man creating a revolution that swept the earth. One great scholar, creating a revolution in your country. Not a revolution with the gun, for Allah says, he will never change the condition of a people until they change their hearts.

"How many of you will say, I will be like Prophet Muhammad and create a new world of Islam? Will you do it? Will you do it? Will you do it? Will we all do it?" he said pointing around the room to a swelling chorus of cheers. "And so, it is done. May Allah bless you. May Allah bless all of your teachers. May Allah bless each and every one of you to be the best Muslim you can be to change this world so that never, ever again will we ever think about our color, our hair, our lips, our nationality. We will only think of one thing, and that is: Allah says, he created every human being to be a Muslim."

The special nature of the timing and the quality of the World Tour and the embrace of Min. Farrakhan by the Islamic world is also illustrated by the Hadith (saying of Prophet Muhammad) that was shared by the Emam who led the Nation of Islam Pilgrims through the prescribed laws of "Umrah" at Mecca. As we drank water from the Well of Zam Zam he told us, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said: "To make Umrah during Ramadan is like making Hajj with me."

(The following four articles [like the preceding five] were written during and immediately after the tour. These articles "From Capitol Hill" are my opinion columns, which appear in The Washington Informer, New York Daily Challenge, *Newark, NJ* City News, *and* The Sacramento Observer *newspapers.)*

From Capitol Hill, Feb. 8, 1996

Farrakhan's African Friendhsip Tour

by Askia Muhammad

I find it totally incomprehensible that a member of the U.S Congress could have the unmitigated gaul to criticize the 1996 African and Muslim World Friendship Tour of Minister Louis Farrakhan. More than a dozen African and Islamic nations are on the itinerary, and in each Capital, Min. Farrakhan is received and accorded the respect of a visiting head of state.

But Rep. Peter King (R-NY) has, for a long time, defied comprehension, as far as the Nation of Islam leader is concerned. He has fought against unarmed Muslim security guards patrolling and making safe previously out-of-control public housing complexes. He boasts of this folly, even though unnecessary deaths have occured in the complexes once the Muslim guards have been removed.

Now Rep. King threatens to subpoena the Min. Farrakhan to testify before some House Subcommittee or another, regarding the Minister's meetings with his Brother African and Muslim Leaders. Rep. King says that Min. Farrakhan has outdone himself by meeting with Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. On the contrary, it is Rep. King who has outdone himself in this case.

Let's look at this situation briefly. Min. Farrakhan is a Son of the African soil and a Muslim who returned to the African continent in the wake of the largest mobilization of African people in American (if not world) history--the Million Man March last October 16. Col. Muammar Qaddafi is a Son of Africa and a Muslim, who proudly declares himself to be in solidarity with African people in America, and with the oppressed people in America and throughout the world. What's wrong with those two brothers meeting, and embracing?

Is Min. Farrakhan suspected of smuggling illegal drugs out of Libya into the United States? No. Libya has never been accused of being a drug producer, supplier, or trans-shipment point.

Is Min. Farrakhan suspected of smuggling super-computers out of America into the hands of the Libyan leader? No. Is Min. Farrakhan suspected of spying and compromising American military or diplomatic secrets for the advantage of those outside of America? No. Has Min. Farrakhan gone outside of the country and subjected America to the stinging criticism it deserves for its policies that afflict the poor, the elderly, and the needy? No, he has not spoken one harsh word against America's diabolical policies, though he's spoken in dozens and dozens of cities, in mosques, in schools, in government houses.

Well just what is it that Min. Farrakhan is really "guilty" of doing.

As a result of the enormous respect that he earned by calling for and causing to happen (with the help of Almighty God) the Million Man March, Min. Farrakhan is now the pre-eminent leader and spokesman among African American people, period. When Louis Farrakhan talks now, people listen. So, when Min Farrakhan goes abroad, he is carrying with him the "GOODWILL" of the Black people of America. Black people love and respect him, and will look with new vision in the directions Min. Farrakhan directs our gaze. This is what America's status-quo-seekers fear.

Old "imperialist-thinkers" like Rep. King, who want to see all Black leaders--both in Africa and in America--as obsequious and docile, can't stand the idea of an independent Black man like Min. Farrakhan, meeting with an independent African leader like Col. Qaddafi.

Ironically, and I'm sure this will only further infuriate the Rep. Peter King's of the world, Min. Farrakhan has received the same warm greeting from South African President Nelson Mandela, from Senegal's Pres. Abou Diouf, from Ghana's Pres. Jerry Rawlings, from Nigeria's Gen. Sani Abacha, from Mozambique's President, from the President of the Gambia, from the Presidential Ruling Council of Liberia.

I think Rep. King should attend to more pressing legislative matters having to do with the lack of heat and electricity among the poor in America, rather than chasing after Min. Farrakhan who has found Blue Skies, and 80-degree temperatures everywhere he's travelled. Because, like Br'er Rabbit in the "briar patch" in the Uncle Remus stories, I don't think Rep. King wants to throw the articulate Min. Farrakhan in front of the world's cameras again testifying on Capitol Hill. It would only fulfill the mandate of the Hon. Elijah Muhammad, to "Put the Muslim Program Before the Congress." And then, the genie of the Islamic message resounding in the Council's of Power, would be truly out of the bottle, never to return again.

From Capitol Hill, Feb. 15, 1996

Farrakhan, The African and Muslim Worlds & America

By Askia Muhammad

Following his unprecedented reception as the featured speaker at the 17th Anniversary celebration of the Victory of the Islamic Revolution in Tehran, Iran on Feb. 11, 1996, Minister Louis Farrakhan added a revealing perspective to his work.

The Nation of Islam leader was not simply the first Black person ever permitted to speak to the five million Iranians assembled from all parts of the vast Islamic Republic that day. He was indeed, the first non-Iranian ever to be accorded that honor since supporters of Ayatollah Ruhola Khomeini swept Shah Reza Pahlavi from the Peacock Throne in 1979. Traveling as he was with an American passport, the honor was increased one-hundred-fold, because of the bitter contempt in which the American government is held by the people of that ancient and proud civilization.

"There is a verse of scripture from the Bible," he said later that day in the Holy City of Mashhad, "that reads: 'A prophet is not without honor except in his own house.' Ever since we embarked on this world tour, we as a delegation and I personally as the head of this delegation have been honored in every country into which we have gone."

Min. Farrakhan--and his delegation, consisting of the Rev. Al Sampson, pastor of Fernwood United Methodist Church in Chicago, the only pastor personally ordained into the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. himself; retired Illinois Rep. Gus Savage (who left in Senegal); retired Gary, Indiana Mayor and former president of the World Conference of Mayors, Thomas Barnes (who left in South Africa); Dr. Sarah Moten (who did not travel to Libya or Iran), international affairs adviser to National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) President Dr. Dorothy Height; and several NOI officials--was accorded the honors of a head of state in each and every nation he visited.

In Africa, no door was closed to the convener of the historic 1995 Million Man March on Washington. Min. Farrakhan met in Ghana, Pres. Jerry Rawlings; in Nigeria, Head of State Gen. Sani Abacha, 1993 presidential candidate Chief M.K.O. Abiola, Foreign Minister Tom Ikhimi, and a host of other government officials. In Libya Head of State Muammar Qaddafi, received the delegation at his tent in the Aziza Barracks in Tripoli, spending the entire afternoon conferring, meeting, discussing, praying, even taking pictures. In Liberia, Senegal, Zaire, The Gambia, Mozambique, The Sudan, the reception was the same: each Head of State received Min. Farrakhan as a peer.

Even in South Africa, where attacks on the Muslim leader from White critics were most intense, Pres. Nelson Mandela received Min. Farrakhan and his entourage at his private residence in the Houghton District of Johannesburg, where he receives only his most distinguished state visitors. Despite unrelenting pressure on Pres. Mandela to distance himself from his guest, he told reporters following his hour-long meeting with Min. Farrakhan. "There was no issue that arose, on which there was a disagreement. He has explained his position. His views are identical with the principles that I put forward."

Equally in the Muslim world, the royal "red carpet" was extended everywhere Min. Farrakhan went. At Capetown, South Africa, where that nation's oldest Islamic community resides, those descendants from Malaysian immigrants cheered him. Throughout the Islamic provinces of Nigeria, the NOI leader was cheered and honored like no person from America, ever before--Black or White, Muslim, Christian, Hebrew, or agnostic.

In Borno State, Nigeria for example, Min. Farrakhan became only the ninth person in the thousand-year-plus history of Islam in that region, to be honored with a "Durba"--a parade by thousands of Chiefs and warriors on horseback, each lowering his sword or spear in respect--by the Shehu of Borno. Emperor Hailie Selassie, King George VI, Prince Charles and Lady Diana, and the Prime Minister of Canada are among the previous eight outsiders to receive a Durba.

At Ibadan, Nigeria--where the Ooni of Ife, the leader of the world's 36-million Yoruba people, traces his seat of authority to the very beginning of time, when the first Ooni descended (according to the oral history) from Heaven to the same spot at Ile Ife, Ibadan where the palace sits today--Min. Farrakhan was enstooled as Chief Ade Farrakhan, "From The Source."

Although at home, Min. Farrakhan's critics belittle his restoration of the Message of the Hon. Elijah Muhammad, as being not "authentic" Islam, he was accorded high honors in Saudi Arabia, the nation-custodian of the Islam's Holiest Shrines. Min. Farrakhan's chartered executive jet touched down at Jeddah, its 19th destination on the 19th day of the Holy Month of Ramadan. At the Grand Mosque at the Kabah in Mecca, Arabia, the reception was distinguished. Min. Farrakhan and the 30 Muslim believers traveling with him were received by the Emam of the Holy Mosque. He was met by the newly installed President of Rabata, The World Muslim

League. As his party performed Umrah (which is pilgrimage in other than the Hajj season), he walked just shouting distance behind the party of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah.

In every foreign land in which he's traveled, the Nation of Islam leader has been honored, but at home, he is the subject of slander, he is reviled, he is threatened with imprisonment. Indeed: "A prophet is not without honor, except in his own house." But as surely as Min. Farrakhan walked in the footsteps of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., ascending to the "mountaintop" of leadership of the poor, the downtrodden, the descendants of slaves in America, by his organization of the Million Man March, last Oct. 16; then this African and Muslim World Friendship Tour in which he is accorded the status of Head of State in so many fraternal capitals, finds him walking now in the footsteps toward the pinnacle, the Seat of the Hon. Elijah Muhammad himself.

It is a wondrous thing, even if in America most, perceive it not.

From Capitol Hill, Feb. 22, 1996

Sanctions or Genocide Against Iraq?

by Askia Muhammad

The historic around-the-world African and Muslim World Friendship Tour led by the Hon. Min. Louis Farrakhan traveled to exotic far-off lands. Some of the sights we saw were wondrous to behold, the stuff dreams are made of. But there is one haunting nightmare--the impact of U.S. sanctions on the health, nutrition and environment of Iraq.

While the intention is to punish the Iraqi political leadership, and to bring down the government of President Saddam Hussein, the real effect of the pain inflicted is felt mostly by children, those who are innocent, most vulnerable. In addition, the President enjoys a special extra-political advantage in the land which prides itself on being the custodian of one of two known locks of Prophet Muhammad's hair. He is often introduced as a "grandson" (or a direct descendant) of the Prophet himself.

Meanwhile, the latest data collected by Iraq's Ministry of Health (and submitted to for verification to the World Health Organization [WHO]) shows that "between August, 1990 and July, 1995 a total of 612,500 people of all ages died for various reasons as a result of delayed effects of the sanctions." Iraq describes that toll in grim terms, in a report prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Information last October.

"The United States, Britain, and the countries allied with them have committed a war of genocide against the people of Iraq. They imposed and indeed are still imposing a comprehensive package of economic sanctions that included even the supply of foodstuffs and medicines with the explicit purpose of depriving the people of this country of their most basic needs.

"The nutritional situation of the children under five years of age, the most vulnerable group, is particularly alarming. There has been a sharp and significant increase in the cases of severe malnutrition and related syndromes, and of protein, calorie and vitamin deficiencies. The number of cases reported from August 1990 to July 1995 totaled 7,729,559. Low birth-weight babies (less than 5 pounds) have dramatically increased. The rise is primarily due to the acute shortage of food and a consequent low level of dietary intake."

In practical terms, the sanctions and the corresponding freeze on assets outside of the country mean grief for all Iraqis, including the political leaders forced to make extremely difficult decisions. Because of the embargo on the export of oil, the country has no income to even purchase items that are not on the sanctioned list.

Billions of dollars in Iraqi assets are frozen in banks abroad. Hundreds of millions of dollars worth of merchandise that Iraq has paid for, cannot be delivered. Billions of dollars of low-interest loans made to African countries when Iraq had rich currency surpluses cannot be paid back in merchandise--often at prices equivalent to pennies on the dollar, to Iraq's disadvantage--because of pressure from the U.S. and England.

At Baghdad's Saddam Children's Hospital, Min. Farrakhan was shown emaciated children, others suffering from leukemia (possibly caused by decayed uranium used in allied weapons), and mal-nurtured children in constant pain, lying on dingy sheets, often just waiting to die. Hospital authorities complain that there is no medicine, there are no supplies (gloves, intravenous devices, etc.), and that potential patients often don't even come to the hospitals because there is so little hope of successful treatment. People would just rather keep their loved ones at home, rather than take them to a hospital, simply to die.

Because of sanctions, hospital officials complain, electric power must be shut down after only 10 hours per day in most Iraqi cities. A half dozen patients have died on their operating tables this year, officials report, when power was cut and back-up generators failed to maintain life-support equipment. Practically all operations--INCLUDING tooth extractions--are performed without anesthetics. Most surgery, hospital officials said, begins and ends without pain killers, with drugs used only during the surgical procedure itself.

Because of what U.N. sanctions monitors describe as "dual purpose" use of a variety of items, some of the most innocuous products cannot be imported. Included on the list are: bed sheets, paper, lead for pencils. Sheets can be used to make shirts or military uniforms, it is said. Paper can also support industry rather than exclusively supporting humanitarian purposes (one quarterly newsletter published by a Baghdad mosque has not been produced in more than two years). Even produce grown in surplus in one Iraqi area cannot be transported by truck to another area where it is needed, because sanctions monitors complain that trucks can be used to transport troops. Even the importation of powdered milk has been affected by "dual purpose" and currency restrictions. When powdered milk was available to needy children, then it was only by prescription.

Pilgrims desiring to make the "hajj" to Mecca are restricted because of Iraq's lack of hard currency. Even funds frozen in Saudi Arabia, cannot be used by Iraqi officials to pay for their citizens to travel to fulfill the obligatory pillar of the Islamic faith.

And lest anyone think that the ongoing negotiations at the United Nations to permit the limited sale of Iraqi oil for humanitarian purchases represents a possible breakthrough, don't count on it. In fact, for every billion dollars in oil sales which would be permitted every three months, only about 20 percent of it would be used by the country itself, after reparations, payments for U.N. peacekeeping troops, administration, and the like are deducted from the top.

The bottom line is that sanctions, whenever they are imposed, only hurt the neediest people, and do little to change the political landscape of the targeted country. Just take a look at the suffering in once proud and once wealthy Iraq, and the painful proof of the cruelty and the ineffectiveness (as a political weapon for change) of sanctions can be graphically seen.

FROM CAPITOL HILL, Feb. 29, 1996

Post Scripts on Farrakhan's World Tour

by Askia Muhammad

While "blessed" is the best word to describe my extremely good fortune at being a member of Min. Louis Farrakhan's 1996 African and Muslim World Friendship Tour, "luckiest man alive" is not an exaggeration.

On Jan. 17 I was one of 30 people on board a chartered 707-B executive jet, when its wheels went up at Chicago's O'Hare Airport, on the first leg of an incredible odyssey. On Feb. 24 we touched down again at O'Hare after circumnavigating the globe, and travelling more than 50,000 miles.

In between, I literally observed the revolutionizing of the Nation of Islam in America, and saw the African and Muslim Worlds come alive with each contact with the vibrant American-born Islamic force. The result is a new "reality" for the Nation of Islam (NOI), especially in the context of modern international affairs.

If I had not been on the trip myself, I could not now comprehend the depth of deception, propaganda, and distortion involved in the U.S. mass media's negative interpretation of the triumphant tour. Had I not travelled as a member of the delegation which included the Rev. Al Sampson, of Chicago's Fernwood United Methodist Church; retired Congress-member Gus Savage (D-IL); retired Gary, Indiana Mayor Thomas Barnes; Dr. Sarah Moten international affairs adviser for the National Council of Negro Women; and several NOI officials, it might be hard for me to fathom "head of state" treatment in 15 of the 19 countries visited.

But I saw it for myself, and it was awesome. Awesome in Col. Muammar Qadafi's command tent at the Aziza Barracks in Tripoli, Libya. He spoke of African matters, using the personal pronoun "we," and included himself in the "brotherhood" of those who struggle for justice inside America. I had my picture taken with the Libyan leader, whom I first met in 1978.

It was awesome at Pres. Nelson Mandela's private residence in the exclusive "Houghton" neighborhood of Johannesburg, where Africa's most respected moral and political authority receives his most important visitors. I saw him and heard him say that he and Min. Farrakhan had "no differences of opinion," on major issues, including race, Nigeria, and even the fraternal bond that linked both men to Libya's Col. Qadafi.

The sights and sounds I saw, photographed and made audio recordings of in Nigeria, were also awesome. Politics aside, economics aside, that nation is a cultural treasure trove, and I experienced thrilling Islamic sights and sounds, as well as a heart-pounding modern music experience by an 11-year old singer-dancer-percussionist who is every bit as precocious and talented as Stevie Wonder was when he recorded "Fingertips."

During most of the time of the tour, I was fasting with the world's Islamic community, observing the Holy Month of Ramadan. At the Holy City of Mecca, imagine the thrill of performing the Pilgrimage after having been received in the private study of the Emam of the Grand Mosque at the Kabah. Then imagine walking with Min. Farrakhan, just a few yards behind Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdallah, who was performing the same ancient ritual at the same time we were.

If you think that was thrilling, then imagine learning the "hadith" or saying of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon Him), that says: performing "umrah," (or the Pilgrimage out of official "hajj" season) during Ramadan, is like performing hajj with the Prophet Himself. Meanwhile at home, Min. Farrakhan's critics whine that NOI members aren't "real Muslims."

It's too bad that even some Blacks who were not on the trip are so short of vision that they chimed in with plain dumb criticisms of Min. Farrakhan, based on U.S. State Department attacks. I thought these same "pundits" had grown tired of being hired to be "jack-in-the-box" Farrakhan critics who jump up and denounce him on cue.

While Min. Farrakhan was forging a new relationship between Blacks in America and the African and Islamic diplomatic worlds, some of his myopic brothers and sisters were trying to confine him to some petty Potomac definition. What's really sad is that a few Black columnists may have deluded themselves into thinking they can do with their pens (confine Min. Farrakhan), what the Federal Government can't do with a whole bureau full of lawyers.

(The following items are actual transcripts of speeches as delivered, or from press conferences held by Minister Louis Farrakhan during the World Friendship Tour.)

Press Conference Lagos, Nigeria Feb. 7, 1996.

By Min. Louis Farrakhan

re: a question on dissent. When you deal with regimes that have to mature, if I were living in Africa, I'd probably be dead, speaking the way I speak. I'm living in America. I have to pay a price for speaking the way I speak, but in America, they have matured to the point where they allow the dissent of opinion. Even if you disagree with your government you can say it, but you will pay a price for it.

Even in America, I pay a price for speaking the way I speak. But I would hope that we would mature to the point where we would listen to those who don't agree with us. Because out of the discontent of the Nigerian nationals who are here and abroad, you might hear something to help you formulate your democracy even better than you would if you don't listen to those who are in disagreement.

So, even with me as a member of the Nation of Islam. We are a new organization or group. There are people who disagree with me, who dissent. I like to hear it, because if I hear it and can do something about it, I can create wider satisfaction, rather than feed dissatisfaction. So, I'm hoping that those in the government of Nigeria of Nigeria who are here, and know that there are those outside who love Nigeria. They're not enemies of Nigeria, they love their country, but they want to see their country made better. Well, help to make it that way.

Sometimes you have to be wise to know that in your dissent there's a wolf and a fox, that's standing outside looking at Nigeria as a fat lamb. And if they can eat Nigeria, all West Africa is gone. Now even though, you may have legitimate discontent my dear brother, see, in the judgement, the way God judges, He puts on the scale what I do of good, and He weighs it against what I do that's not so good. Most of us don't judge like that. We judge very personal. When it's something that ill-affects us, then the whole regime is no good, because I'm hurting.

But now, if we look and balance it. Nigeria: Is Liberia the stepchild of America? When the Civil War broke out, why didn't America step in? Why did Nigeria have to step in? The United Nations hasn't given them any money. So Nigeria has helped to keep peace in Liberia. Whether you agree with all the things Nigeria does or not, is that good? Is what she did there good?

Is what she did in Sierra Leone good? Is what Nigeria did for the ANC, against apartheid, is that good? Yes, there are excesses, and I'm sure there's evil, but it's your duty to correct the evil that's going on in your own society.

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But listen brothers and sisters. You know, if you were left alone you would do that easily. But you've got outside forces which manipulate circumstances in every government in Africa, to help you to stay weak, so that you will never gain control of yourselves.

Now if Nigeria has this kind of national character where she refuses to be pushed into a corner, there are some European nations, or Western nations don't like that. They like you to be a grovelling Black man. They like you to be at their feet begging them for a dollar, and when you stand up proud and say you've got wealth in Nigeria enough to take yourself, if it were managed properly, and if you got somebody that's strong enough who wants to manage it properly, that person may be not in the national interest of Britain. It may not be in Europe's national interest to have a strong and independent Nigeria.

You know why? Because you're the largest, the strongest, and richest Black nation in the world. And if we can destroy Nigeria, then we've got a free ride in all of Africa, and we can't look at South Africa to defend us, because the army is not yet in our hands, neither is the economy. So, if you wipe out Nigeria, then all Africa becomes a playground again for Europe in the 21st Century. We must not allow that to happen.

So, your voice of discontent and the voices of Nigerians all over the world that are discontented, they must be given a chance to speak their hurt, and the government must address their legitimate concerns with justice. And if you do that you can bring your dissidents home and reconcile your differences and have the strong vibrant nation that Nigeria is destined to become. Thank you.

Islamic Revolution Anniversary Speech
Feb. 11, 1996, Freedom Square, Tehran, Iran
By Min. Louis Farrakhan

To President Rafsanjani, to the Spiritual Leader Ayatollah Khameini, to all of the people of Iran and to the entire Muslim world. I am your Muslim brother from the United States of America. I and my delegation are here to pay tribute to one of the greatest spiritual revolutions in the modern world.

To the noble brothers and sisters of Iran, we want you to know that we are very proud that Islam is established in Iran, and we have a truly Islamic Republic. The problem in the Muslim world is not America, nor is it Israel, nor is it the West. The problem in the Muslim world is that our world has devisted from the path of Prophet Muhammad and the teaching of the Holy Qur'an.

Iran was taken away from the purity of the faith of Islam, so that there was a time when we were ashamed of the faith of Allah. But Allah, Supanata-wa-Allah raised up Emam Khomeini to lead Iran back to the straight path of God. Iran is now in the vanguard of an Islamic revolution that is sweeping the earth.

You must not despair because it appears that enemies are all around the wonderful revolution. You must not get weak or weary in your vanguard position. For you, Iran are forging the way for others to bear witness--la-il-la-il-Allah, Muhammad-an-rassoull-Allah.

And so, my dear brothers and sisters, I will leave you with a verse from the Qur'an. "Oh you who believe, keep your duty to Allah, as it ought to be kept, and die not unless you are Muslims. And hold fast by the covenant of Allah, altogether, and be not disunited. And remember Allah's favor to you when you were enemies and he united your hearts, and by His favor you became brethren. And you were on the brink of a pit of fire and Allah saved you from it. Thus Allah has made clear his messages."

My dear brothers and sisters of Iran, you have a lot to be proud of. Before the revolution, there were only 52 magazines in Iran. Since the revolution, there are now 798 magazines and periodicals in Iran. Before the revolution, there were no elections in Iran. But now, you have had 17 elections, since the revolution.

Before the revolution, there was only room for 175,000 students in Iran. But now, your capacity is a million, four-hundred thousand. Before the revolution, you imported $24 billion in imports. And now, you have reduced your imports to $14 billion which means that Iran is now becoming self-sufficient. Before the revolution, Iran imported 8 million tons of wheat. Now Iran imports no wheat, Iran grows enough to feed her own population and can export the surplus to others.

There can be no freedom without responsibility. If America wants the world to be democratic, Iran has had 17 elections, many for president, many for members of parliament, this is a theocracy, but it is also a democracy. Your leadership has stopped the influx of degenerate television to Iran. It is not that they wish to deprive you of what the outside world offers, but your leadership does not want to see a righteous mind polluted or corrupted with the filth and degeneracy of a world that is on its way out.

In conclusion, there are two points I wish to make. On the mourning of Hazrat Ali, the fourth caliph of Islam, Ali was the executor of the will of the Prophet. It is not accidental that Iran loves Ali so much. For now, Allah has called upon Iran to execute the will of Prophet Muhammad, the Will of God, and the will of the Qur'an.

As your brother, I personally love Emam Khomeini. I visited his tomb this morning and laid a wreath. And I say to you, beloved Iran, and to the entire Muslim world. "Speak not of those who are slain, or who die in the way of God as dead. They are alive, but you understand not."

The soil of Iran is soaked with the blood of the martyrs. The martyrs have not died in vain. Keep the revolution alive. Emam Khomeini lives! He lives in you! He lives in every believer in Islam.

Long live Iran. Long live the Muslim world. Long live the struggle for true independence. Allah-hu Akbar. Allah-hu Akbar. Allah-hu Akbar. Allah-hu Akbar. As-Salaam-Alaikum.

Islamic University lecture
Qom, Iran Feb. 12, 1996
By Min. Louis Farrakhan

Bismillah, ir-Rahman, nir-Raheem. In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. We give praise and thanks to Allah, for all of His Prophets and their scriptures. To the ulimah, the scholars of Islam, and to these bright and beautiful students of the Qur'an, I am very, very happy to be in Qom. Nothing could please me more than to know that I have an opportunity to speak to the future shapers of the destiny of Islam.

Allah promised in the Qur'an that he would raise a new generation. A generation that would not fear the censure of any censurer, and they would be mighty against the disbeliever, but humble toward the believer. You are that new generation.

Our world of Islam is undergoing a revolution. A revolution because it has strayed from the straight path of God. Our world is undergoing upheaval because many of its leaders have sold their soul to Shaitan. Muslim is now rising against Muslim, because some Muslims have turned hypocritical against that faith, that after believing they have taken the Qur'an and put it behind their backs.

Racism has poisoned the bloodstream of our great faith. Sexism and materialism have poisoned the bloodstream of our great faith. And an extreme form of nationalism is poisoning the bloodstream of our great faith. But you are a new generation, being raised by Allah. (chant: Taqbeer, Allah-hu-Akbar, Allah-hu-Akbar, Allah-hu-Akbar, Khomeini-Akbar[?], bah-bah [undecipherable], bah-bah Ahm-reeka, bah-bah Israh-lee, bah-bah [undecipherable])

Among you, is the end of racism. Among you, is the end of sexism. Among you, is the end of materialism. Among you, is the end of extreme nationalism. Among you, is the new world of Islam to come to birth. I am proud to be a brother in Islam, and I am proud to be a servant of Allah.

May I take just a few moments to encourage you, that we do not just wish to be those who quote the Qur'an. It is wonderful to be hafeez, to know every ayat that Allah revealed to his servant Muhammad. (chant, etc...) My dear brothers, our work is not only to recite the Qur'an, but to learn the depth of the wisdom of the book. Every word of the Qur'an is like an atom that must be cracked to unleash its dormant power.

Each one of us must strive to be a reflection of the Prophet Muhammad, in the modern time. (chant) Muhammad did not just give us the word. The Holy Prophet used the word to do many things. Look at the condition of the Arabs in their jahaleeyah and look at the people in the countries that you left to come here to study the word of Allah. The people were divided into tribes and they hated each other...and some of us have grown into nations, but these nations do not love each other. With the word of the Qur'an, the Holy Prophet brought all the tribes together into one ummah. (chant: Taqbeer, Allah-hu-Akbar, Allah-hu-Akbar, Allah-hu-Akbar, Khomeini-Akbar[?], bah-bah [undecipherable], bah-bah Ahm-reeka, bah-bah Israh-lee, bah-bah [undecipherable])

Again, these are slogans. You cannot bring down America or Israel with a slogan. The base of both nations is falsehood. The only power that can bring them down is truth. The Qur'an says: "Had we wished to take a pastime from before ourselves, we would have done it. Nay. We cast truth at falsehood until we knock out its brains." The Holy Prophet cleansed his people from ignorance, from drunkenness, from the disrespect of women, from infanticide, and he made his people lovers of knowledge. And they spread to the ends of the earth and conquered it in the Name of Allah.

We have that mission to do all over again. Iran has been chosen by the Almighty Allah to be the light of this Islamic revolution. The Qur'an teaches, "Allah knows best where to place His message." Allah placed it in the heart of Emam Khomeini, and with it, Emam Khomeini revived Iran and brought her back to the path of Islam. (chant: Taqbeer, Allah-hu-Akbar, Allah-hu-Akbar, Allah-hu-Akbar, Khomeini-Akbar[?], bah-bah [undecipherable], bah-bah Ahm-reeka, bah-bah Israh-lee, bah-bah [undecipherable]) But why did Allah choose Iran? Why not Saudia? Why not Egypt? Why not some of these other Islamic nations?

When we study the history of Iran, we see that the Iranian people have suffered through history. As Persians, then as Muslims, then they lost the path, they suffered again to revive the faith, and now the whole world is frightened of the Iranian Islamic revolution, so Iran is suffering again. But Iran is strong in character, and Iran will never bow down to the force of the West. So Iran, I believe, has been chosen by Allah to revive faith. There is no better place for you to study, than here in Qom.

But look where I came from. I came from America. Dear brothers, how did we get inside America? We didn't go on the Mayflower, the Nina, the Pinta, or the Santa Maria, the ships that brought the Pilgrims to America. We were carried away from Mother Africa by the tens of hundreds of thousands, even millions, in the holds of ships to be brought to America to be made slaves. Many of our fathers were Muslims, but the Europeans who established America, wanted no Muslims in the Western Hemisphere. So, they separated the parents from the children, and they either died off or they were killed, so that no one could teach one word of our own language; of our own culture; of our own religion; of our own God. We couldn't hear our father's say: "Allah-hu-Akbar, Allah-hu-Akbar." No more the call to prayer.

In Africa we could beat a drum, (taps drum sounds on table) sending messages, starting revolution. But, the enemy said, "don't let the Black man play the drum." So the Black man had to sing spirituals, putting a message in a song: "Swing low, sweet chari-ot. Coming to carry me home. Swi-ing low, sweet chariot Coming to carry me home."

We knew that America was not our home. We knew that Africa was our home. But there was no ship to bring us home. We were to stay there, and be slaves in America, sold from plantation to plantation, branded like you brand a horse or a cow, or some piece of property. There was no school for us. For 300 years we were not even allowed to read. The Bible was a locked book. There was no Qur'an, and it was against the law to teach a Black man to read.

Our mothers had no control over their own bodies. The slavemaster would rape them and produce a baby that was mulatto, or looking like Farrakhan. Then he would tell the lighter one that he was better than the darker one. The one that had straighter hair, and thinner lips, and thinner nose, looked more like white folk, and the other was worse off, so the darker one, like in apartheid, you have the Blacks, the Coloreds, the Indians, the Whites.

But Allah, the all wise God, he allowed us to suffer to make us stronger. We are so strong today, that no matter what the enemy has put on us, we have survived. And the beauty of it all, is that Allah-supan-awatal-Allah planned it this way, that as the Children of Israel grew up in a land of bondage, we grew up in America. As Moses learned all the arts and sciences of Pharaoh, because he grew up in Pharaoh's house, we, your brothers, have learned every art and every science of white America, because we grew up in that house. (chant: Taqbeer, etc...)

Now my brothers, in conclusion, we didn't suffer for a day, or for a year. This has been going on for a little over 400 years. But Islam is in America now. And Islam is shaking the foundation of that house. The Blacks, like the Children of Israel, are rising to the call of Islam. Blacks are flooding into the mosques, bearing witness that There is no God, but Allah, and Muhammad is his Messenger. (chant)

And now, my dear brothers, for the first time in our 440 years in America, a Muslim has become the pre-eminent Black leader and the premiere spokesperson for the hurt of all Black people and the oppressed inside America.

We have no doubt that Allah is with the Islamic revolution in Iran. And we have no doubt that Allah is with the Islamic revolution in America. And all we have to do is join hands across the Atlantic. Africa must rise. The islands of the Pacific must rise. Asia must rise. The Caribbean, and South America, and Central America must rise.

America says she's the only superpower left. But she better look again. Islam is the next world superpower, and you will be the leaders of that world, so get into your books, study. (chant: Allah-hu-Akbar, etc...) All of your countries await your growth. So hurry. Study hard

Put the word of Allah, deep into your hearts.

Let the blood that runs through your veins, coursing into your brain carry energy to give vision to you, that each one of you may become like the Prophet himself, one man creating a revolution that swept the earth. One great scholar, creating a revolution in your country. Not a revolution with the gun, for Allah says, he will never change the condition of a people until they change their hearts.

How many of you will say, I will be like Prophet Muhammad and create a new world of Islam? Will you do it? Will you do it? Will you do it? Allah-hu Akbar. Allah-hu Akbar. Allah-hu Akbar. Allah-hu Akbar.

And so, it is done May God bless you. May Allah bless all of your teachers. May Allah bless each and every one of you to be the best Muslim that you can be to change this world, so that never, ever again will we ever think about our color, our hair, our lips, our nationality. We will only think of one thing, and that is: Allah says, he created every human being to be a Muslim. (chant, etc...)

May Allah bless you. Thank you. As-Salaam-Alaikum. (chant: LONG LIVE AHM-REEKA. LONG LIVE AHM-REEKA. LONG LIVE AHM-REEKA. LONG LIVE AHM-REEKA [emphasis added])

Press Conference notes
Ankara, Turkey Feb. 19, 1996

re: question on secularism vs. sharia: "...and thrust for Muslims to rediscover themselves. Islam is finding its place in the modern world.

"It is inappropriate to use 'scare tactics' to frighten the Turkish people against the Islamic (Welfare) party."

re: question on Islam dominating other religions in the U.S.? "I never said I'd bring down America. America is like a modern Pharaoh. Allah raised Pharaoh to be able to demonstrate His power, when Pharaoh was brought down. Allah is saving America for Himself." (paraphrasing) The credit for bringing down the "Modern Babylon," the only remaining superpower is not to go to Russia, the Communist bloc, or anyone else. The praise for that belongs to Allah alone.

"With Iran's President Rafsanjani and the other ayatollah's of Iran, we discussed reconciliation. They agreed to accelerate the pace of reconciliation. Saddam Hussein shared his willingness to reconcile with Iran, with Kuwait, with the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia. He allowed us to travel on a road that had not been used in six years. In order to make the arrangements, he had to personally call the President of Syria...."

In the recent election, "Turks voted their conscience. Turks must now decide whether or not to live under sharia (law). It is not for Louis Farrakhan to decide or even to comment on. If Turkey decides to return to faith, it will return to her former glory.

"Islam is not an extremist faith. If Turkey returns to Islam, Christians, women, racial minorities, intellectuals will be protected."

re: question on U.S. State Department charge of "consorting with dictators." "We must be careful in the misuse of names when it comes to labelling leaders. In our homes when we were children, our own mothers and fathers were dictators. As children in our homes, we did not have democracy, until we left and set up homes of our own. President Mandela invited Col. Qaddafi to South Africa. What will the State Department say about that. I am a free Black man, I go where I plesse."

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